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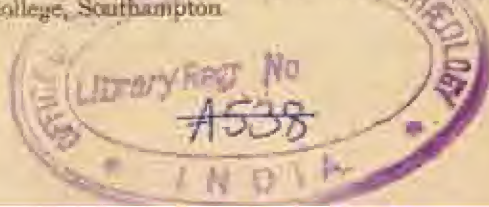
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THE HERBAL IN ANTIQUITY AND ITS TRANSMISSION TO LATER AGES

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§ 1. *Introduction.*—A *Herbal* is a collection of descriptions of plants put together for medical purposes. Most herbal remedies are quite devoid of any rational basis. It may be taken for granted that the writer of a herbal is unable to treat evidence on a scientific basis. He makes a 'direct attack' on disease, without any 'nonsense about theories.' The herbal is thus to be distinguished from the scientific botanical treatise by the fact that its aims are exclusively 'practical'—a vague and foolish word with which, from the days of Plato to our own, men have sought to conceal from themselves and from others their destitution of anything in the nature of general ideas.

A herbal is, moreover, to be distinguished from most other medical works not only in method but also in form. Its arrangement is under remedies rather than under diseases or conditions to be treated. A herbal is, in fact, primarily a descriptive drug-list or, as we now call it, a *pharmacopœia*.¹ Pharmacopœias include a number of substances that cannot be classed as of vegetable origin. Nevertheless, in many ancient as in most modern medical systems, there has been a tendency for remedies to be of a herbal nature. The pharmacopœias of the Greco-Roman world thus tended to approximate to the nature of herbals. The herbal assumed a definite literary form during the fourth century B.C., and

¹ In antiquity the word *pharmacopœia* was used to describe a *drug-compounder*, not a *drug-list*. The English usage dates from the seventeenth century, and Burton's

Anatomy of Melancholy (1621) is perhaps responsible for it. A modern pharmacopœia describes only the drugs and their preparation, without discussing their application.

this form, as we shall see, has persisted with comparatively little alteration throughout the ages.

The earliest Greek writings which involve any extensive knowledge of plants had a medical end. In the group of works known as the *Hippocratic Collection*, the more important elements of which date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., many plant remedies are mentioned. From that group of works modern investigators have gleaned a list of between three and four hundred plants.² It is noteworthy that no contemporary ancient author thought of doing this. It is also noteworthy that Greek Art before the third century B.C. seldom exhibited interest in plants and hardly ever attempted to represent them naturalistically. In accord with this late advent of interest in plants is the fact that the first Greek herbal was put together within the lifetime of the generation that saw the opening of the Alexandrian period.

§ 2. *The Earliest Greek Herbs.*—The first known author of a Greek herbal was Diokles of Karystos. He was practising medicine with enormous reputation in Athens about 350 B.C., and is believed to have influenced the biological writings of Aristotle. He was, moreover, a pupil of the physician Philistion of Lokroi, and there is reason to think that this Philistion took part in certain botanical researches undertaken by the Academy. All accounts of these investigations are, however, lost, and the botanical treatise of Diokles himself has disappeared as completely as his other works. We know only that it was a systematic account, in which each of a series of short descriptions of plants and of their habitats was followed by a list of medical uses.³

A great collection of writings on plants bears the name of Theophrastus of Eresos (c. 372–287 B.C.), the pupil and successor of Aristotle. Most of this collection is of a highly scientific character, but some of it is interesting for our purpose as containing a mass of folk-lore and information concerning the herb-gatherers or *rhizotomists*. Even a superficial examination of these Theophrastan botanical writings shows that they are, at least in part, compilations. A good case has been made out for the view that some of the botanical materials in the Theophrastan writings have been drawn from the experiences of commanders of Alexander's forces.⁴

The ninth book of the Theophrastan *Historia plantarum* is on a lower level than the rest, and is derived from writings of the nature of herbals. A recent investigator of the Theophrastan botanical collection makes the likely sugges-

² On the plants mentioned in the *Hippocratic Collection* see R. von Grot, 'Ueber die in der hippokratischen Schriftsammlung enthaltenen pharmakologischen Kenntnisse,' in R. Robert's *Historische Studien aus dem Pharmakologischen Institut der Kaiserlichen Universität Dorpat*, Halle, 1839, I. p. 58; and J. Burmeister, *Die Pharmacie bei den alten Kulturvölkern*, 3 vols., Halle, 1891.

³ Diokles has been treated by M. Wellmann in his *Die Fragmente der Sikeliischen Aerzte Akron, Philistion und des Diokles*

von Karystos, Berlin, 1901, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, in the *Festschrift für Susemihl*, 1898, and in *Hermes* for 1912, XLVII p. 160, and 1913, XLVIII, p. 464. A series of fragments of the third century A.D. of a papyrus codex of what is possibly a work of Diokles has been described by G. A. Gerhard, *Ein dogmatischer Arzt des vierten Jahrhunderts vor Christ*, Heidelberg, 1913. See on this papyrus A. Körte in *Bursians Jahresbericht* for 1919, III, p. 33.

⁴ H. Bretzl, *Botanische Forschungen des Alexanderzuges*, Leipzig, 1903.

tion that it was put together later than the death (287 B.C.) of its putative author.⁶ In any event, however, the *Historia plantarum* contains the earliest remains of a Greek Herbal that have come down to us. Of the ninth book, §§ ix-xii are most evidently extracted from a herbal. These sections give an idea of the character of the lost Alexandrian herbals upon which later herbals were based.⁷

§ 3. *Herbals of the Alexandrian Period.*—The Alexandrian period of medical development was fertile in works on plants. Herophilos (fl. c. 300 B.C.), most illustrious of Alexandrian physicians, was the author of such a treatise. If we may trust Pliny, it was less scientific than his other writings.⁸ Later Alexandrian herbalists were Mantias (c. 270 B.C.),⁹ Andreas of Karystos (c. 220 B.C.)¹⁰ and Apollonios Mys (c. 200 B.C.).¹¹ Of these we know most of Andreas.¹² He was physician to Ptolemy IV Philopater, and was murdered in the year 217 in mistake for him.¹³ Andreas wrote a work on herbs and their action, and named it *Narthex*. Several fragments have survived imbedded in the writings of later authors.¹⁴ Galen derides him as a mountebank and quack,¹⁵ while Dioskurides, whom he deeply influenced, thought highly of him.¹⁶

After the fragments in the ninth book of the *Historia plantarum* of Theophrastus, the earliest surviving works of a herbal nature are the poems *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* of Nikander, written about 200 B.C.¹⁷ These deal respectively with animal and with vegetable poisons and their supposed antidotes. In general form, as well as in irrationality, these poems are in the main line of herbal tradition. From an early date illustrated MSS. of Nikander were prepared. We gain some idea of them from a manuscript of the ninth century, the figures of which are copied from a classical source (Figs. 1 and 2). In the present state of this manuscript very few of the figures can be botanically diagnosed.

With Nikander should be mentioned Philon of Tarsus, who probably lived at a slightly later date. He wrote a poem—parts of which have been preserved—which has a similar motive to Nikander, but is even more obscure.¹⁸ On a higher plane was the Roman physician and philosopher, Quintus Sextius Niger, for whom Seneca expresses admiration, as 'a man of acute philosophic insight, a master of Greek but a Roman in morals.'¹⁹ He flourished about 25 B.C.,

⁶ Lynn Thorndike, 'Disputed Dates, Civilisation and Climate, and Traces of Magic in the Scientific Treatises ascribed to Theophrastus,' in *Essays on the History of Medicine presented to Karl Sudhoff*, edited by Charles Singer and Henry Sigerist, Zürich, 1924.

⁷ The standard edition of the Theophrastean botanical works is that of F. Wimmer in the second (Paris) edition (Didot, no date, but about 1850). The ninth book of the *Historia plantarum* is very accessible in Sir A. Hort's edition in the Loeb Library.

⁸ Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, XXV. § 5.

⁹ Galen, K. XII. p. 989. All references to Galen are given to Kühn's edition (K) unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰ Celsus, *De re medica*, V. 18, §§ 47 and 12.

¹¹ Galen, K. XII. p. 779.

¹² Dioskurides quotes him four times, Pliny once and Galen several times.

¹³ Polybius, V. 81.

¹⁴ Collected by M. Wellmann in *Pauly-Wissowa*, I. col. 2136.

¹⁵ Galen, K. XI. p. 975.

¹⁶ Dioskurides, *De materia medica*, Preface.

¹⁷ The works of Nikander in the edition of F. S. Lehrs are conveniently issued in a Paris (Didot) reprint, without date but about 1850.

¹⁸ Galen, K. XIII. p. 267. Celsus, VI. § 3.

¹⁹ Seneca, *Epistulae*, 59; § 7.



FIG. 1.—BIBL. NAT. Sup. gr. 247. NIKANDER, NINTH CENTURY. FO. 20.
χαμαί = Bugle? ἀκάνθος = Aconthus.



FIG. 2.—BIBL. NAT. Sup. gr. 247. NIKANDER, NINTH CENTURY. FO. 16 v.
ἀνκυσός = Anchusa officinalis.

and was the author of a herbal *Περὶ ὄλης* which sought to justify a vegetarian regime. This work is lost, but we have testimony as to its character, and that of its author, in a variety of ancient writings.¹⁹

§ 4. *Krateuas and his Drawings of Plants.* *The Juliana Anicia Codex.*—At this point we turn to consider two men, one a monarch and the other his servant, who exercised great influence on the development of the herbal and helped to fix its form. Krateuas, the rhizotomist, was body physician to Mithridates VI Eupator (120-83 B.C.) of Pontus, who was himself a herbalist. Thus Pliny tells us that 'the plant *skordian* was described by this prince's own hand. He says that it is a cubit high, has a square stem, is many-branched and has hairy leaves similar [in form] to those of the oak. It is found in Pontus in rich humid soils and has a bitter taste.'²⁰ 'Among the other gifts with which this extraordinary man was endowed,' adds Pliny, 'was a peculiar devotion to medical inquiries. He gathered information from all his subjects . . . and it was his habit to take notes of their experience. These memoranda . . . fell into the hands of Pompey . . . who at once commissioned his freedman, LENAENS the grammarian, to translate them into Latin.'²¹

The achievements of Mithridates as poisoner and as compounder of antidotes are too well known to be recounted here. The prescription for his panacea that was to protect him from all poisons has been preserved by Celsus (c. A.D. 30),²² and it may be hoped that his poisons were no more efficacious than his antidote. The name of Mithridates survived in a preparation well known to the drug-compounders of later times (p. 18). In the Middle Ages well-nigh every physician had his private *mithridate*, and the imposture was continued till the eighteenth century.

Krateuas, the rhizotomist, the medical attendant of Mithridates, made a more creditable contribution to knowledge than did his master. He wrote a work on the nature and uses of herbs. His successor, Dioskurides,²³ speaks of him with respect, as does the author of an early herbal work *On the Centaury*, which has come down to us falsely ascribed to Galen.²⁴ There is, however, a better reason that entitles Krateuas to remembrance. In addition to this work he wrote a second herbal in which plants were not described but were depicted in figures. In the absence of technical terminology—a want shared by all departments of ancient science—this device was most valuable. The figures were followed by brief discussions of the medical uses of plants. Krateuas is thus the father of plant illustration. He has therefore exercised great influence not only on the subsequent development of the herbal,²⁵ but also on the course of scientific botany.

¹⁹ These have been collected by M. Wellmann in his edition of Dioskurides, 3 vols., Berlin, 1914, III, p. 146. All references to Dioskurides are given to this standard edition, unless otherwise stated.

²⁰ Pliny, XXV. § 62.

²¹ *Ibid.*, § 3.

²² Celsus, *De re medica*, V. § 23.

²³ Dioskurides, II. §§ 6 and 7.

²⁴ Pseudo-Galen, *De virtute centaureae*, § 2.

²⁵ On the place of Krateuas in the history of plant-illustration see M. Wellmann in the *Abhandl. der Kön. Ges. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge*, Bd. 2, Nr. 1, Berlin, 1897, and Charles Singer, *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, 2nd series, Oxford, 1921, and *Edinburgh Review*, 1923, p. 95.

There exist, as I believe, materials for restoring a considerable section of this work of Kratenus. The so-called *Juliana Anicia Codex* at Vienna is, in part, a text of Dioskurides, but contains much besides. It was written about the year 512 for presentation to Juliana Anicia, daughter of Anicius Olybrius,



FIG. 3.—TRACING FROM THE JULIANA ANICIA CODEX OF 512, FO. 5 v.

Epimelia holds a mandrake in her hand. Kratenus is painting it, while Dioskurides writes an account of it in a codex. In the original figure much of the paint has scaled off and our restoration is conjectural in places.

who was Emperor of the West in 472. The MS. is drawn from a variety of sources. It is magnificently illustrated. The figures, many of which are admirably natural, are certainly copied from much earlier documents. It is clearly linked with the tradition of Kratenus, and on one page is a picture of that eminent rhizotomist, engaged in painting the forms of plants (Fig. 3).

By his side stands the genius of Intelligence, *Epinoia*, holding a Mandrake. Beyond, a figure marked *Dioskorides* writes in a book.

Important for our purpose is the fact that the Juliana Anicia codex contains accounts of the uses of eleven plants (Figs. 4-14), taken, as the scribe specifically states, from the text of Krateuas. We have thus, in any event, a considerable fragment of the work of Krateuas.²⁶ Moreover, the passages are illustrated by figures of the plants, the virtues of which are discussed in the text. These illustrations, like the texts which accompany them, are presumably copied from the older Krateuas herbal.

Now, at the date of the preparation of the Juliana Anicia codex, naturalistic drawing had long been a lost art. Some idea of the draughtsmanship of the period can be gleaned from Fig. 3. The Byzantine artist was utterly incapable of representing a living plant, save by slavishly copying an older drawing. All draughtsmanship of the fifth and sixth centuries goes to show that these naturalistic figures of the Juliana Anicia are not original. They are copied, and copied moreover from a very ancient source. The whole history of the Greek, as of the Latin, herbal is in accord with this view, which is further supported by much internal evidence yielded by the figures themselves. We find, too, that the figures in the Juliana Anicia codex are by more than one hand. They are of a varying degree of excellence, and those associated with the passages from Krateuas are among the very best. Others, however, are very stiff and formal, as is, for instance, the figure of *Lochitis* (Fig. 27). The style of the best of these drawings (Figs. 4-14) shows that they date back to originals which can hardly be later than the second century A.D. and may be much earlier. If, as there is no reason to doubt, they come ultimately from Krateuas himself, then we can obtain a glimpse of his work in something like its original form.²⁷

§ 5. *A Restoration of part of the Rhizotomikon of Krateuas.*—Assuming that the drawings in Juliana Anicia resemble or are derived from those of Krateuas himself, we may consider the form of his illustrated herbal. At his date it would have been written on a scroll, but the general arrangement of the columns must have been similar to that of the pages of the papyrus herbal codex that we here figure and describe (§ 10, p. 31, and Plates I and II). Each column contained a picture of a plant. Below this picture was written the name of the plant, followed by a short account of its medical uses. I endeavour to re-create an impression of the illustrated herbal of Krateuas, and for this purpose each herb is given a page to itself (p. 8-p. 17). There is evidence from both Greek and Latin herbals that originally this rule was generally followed.

It may be convenient to have a translation of this early remnant of a prototype of the mediæval and modern herbal. Some of the text is corrupt, and I have to thank Professor J. F. Dobson, of Bristol University, for help in rendering some of the more incomprehensible passages. Identifications of plants have been kindly provided by Mr. A. J. Wilmott of the Botanical

²⁶ The passages from Krateuas can be consulted in the facsimile of the Juliana Anicia MS., but are conveniently reprinted in Weltheim's *Dioskorides*, III. p. 144.

²⁷ Those drawings associated with passages ascribed to Krateuas are all by the same hand, and in the same style.



FIG. 4.—GREATER ARISTOLOCHIA
(*Aristolochia sempervirens*, fol. 17 v.)¹

Drunk in wine and used as a plaster draws out (the poison of) reptiles and deadly beasts. With pepper and myrrh it expels the discharges after childbirth, the courses and the loetus. As a local application it does the same. (Fol. 18.)

¹ The foliation refers to the *Juliana Anala* Codex. In that MS. the description of the

uses of the plant is often on a different page to the corresponding figure.

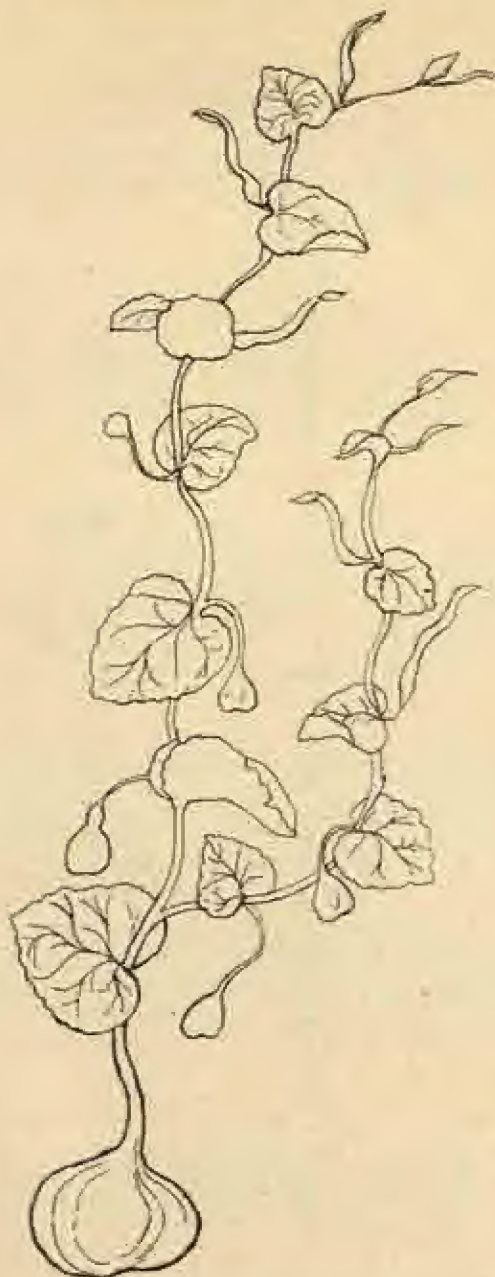


FIG. 5.—ROUND ARISTOLOCHIA
(*Aristolochia pallida*, fol. 18 v.)

Drunk with black wine is valid for snake-bites. It enters into the composition of antidotes against venomous beasts (i.e. *Theriaca*, see pp. 3 and 18) and of compound medicines for gout and of plasters. It also promotes the courses and expels the foetus. It is a help against asthma, hiccup, shivers, apoplexy, abscesses and convulsions. Drunk in water it drives out thorns and splinters; beaten into a plaster it removes fragments of bones, dries up putrifying sores and cleanses foul wounds. It is a good wash for the teeth and for wounds. (Fol. 19 v.)



FIG. 6.—*ACHILLEA*
(*Salsola multiflora*, fol. 24 v.)

The smooth juicy foliage of this plant closes wounds and checks inflammation and controls hæmorrhage and the discharge from the womb. A decoction of it restrains flux and is drunk for dysentery. The whole plant, pounded with old fat, cures long-standing wounds and such as are difficult to heal. Dried, pounded and mixed with honey it is cathartic. (Fol. 25.)

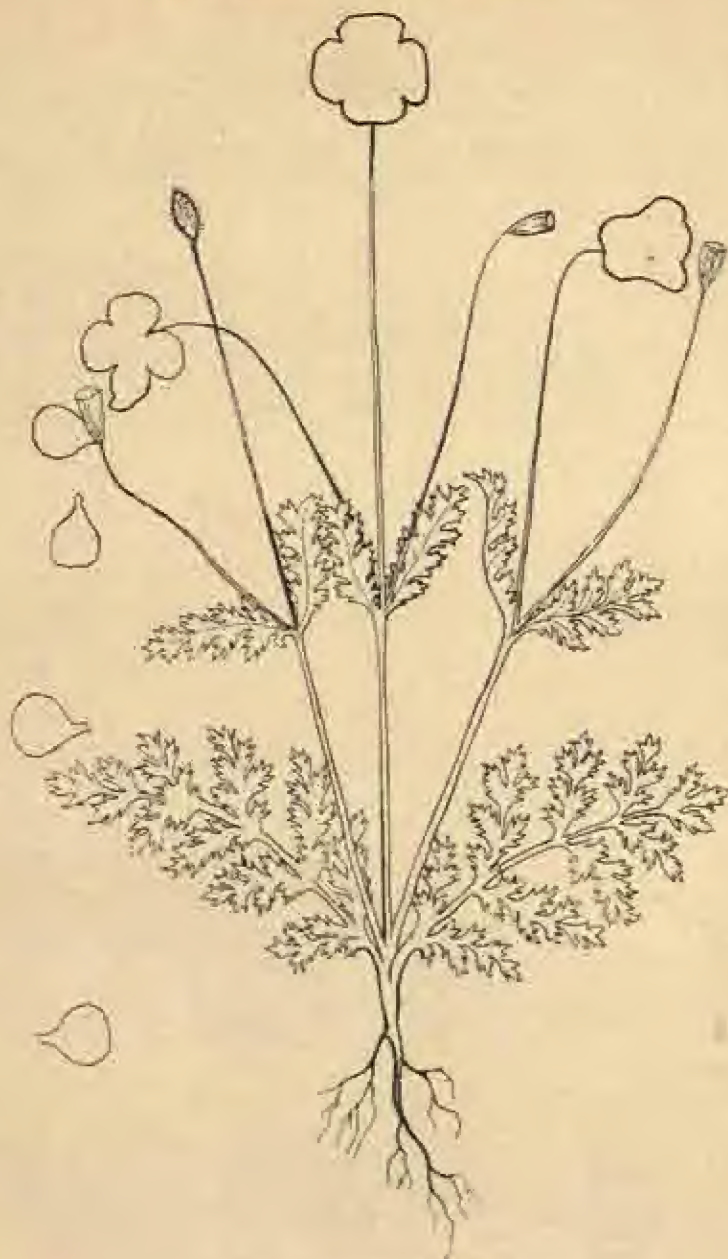


FIG. 7.—PURPLE ANEMONE
(*Papaver dubium*, fol. 25 v.)

Anemone has a pungent quality, hence the juice of the root, infused, is employed to purge the head. The root if chewed produces phlegm; boiled with sugar and applied as a paste it allays inflammation of the eyes and cleanses wounds. Leaves and stems, boiled in barley-water and eaten, draw off the milk and bring on the courses. Made into a plaster they remove scabs.²³ (Fol. 24 v.)

²³ See Pliny, XXI. § 94.



FIG. 8.—*Asphodel*.
(*Asphodelus* sp., fol. 26 v.)

Roots of this plant have a diuretic quality and promote the courses. One root will cure gouty pains and spasms, coughs, abscesses. The taking (of the amount) of one knuckle-bone produces easy vomiting.²² A dose of three is given with benefit to those suffering from snake-bite; the bites must be plastered with the whole of the plant in wine.²³ It also cures filthy and spreading ulcers. The root, boiled with wine, if combined with barley, is useful for inflammation of the breasts and testicles, for tumours and boils and for recent inflammations. The juice of the root, with the addition of a little old wine, myrrh and saffron, all boiled up together and combined with frankincense and honey, is an ointment for the eyes and for discharging ears. (Fol. 26 v.)

²² The passage which follows is corrupt.

²³ Here follows a complicated passage that is perhaps interpolated. Cp. Pliny,

XXII. § 33. The passage bears no resemblance to the quotation from Krates given by Pliny, XXII. § 34.



FIG. 9.—ADONIS

(Adonis vernalis, fol. 28 v.)

This plant, pounded with fat, resolves swollen glands. It acts on the black tetter. Beaten up dry and sifted with nitre and raw sulphur,²¹ it cures those who first have a dry rub and then use it in the bath. It is also used for itch. (Fol. 29.)

²¹ It is perhaps worth noting that a dried plant combined with nitre and sulphur provides the ingredients out of which gun-powder can be made.

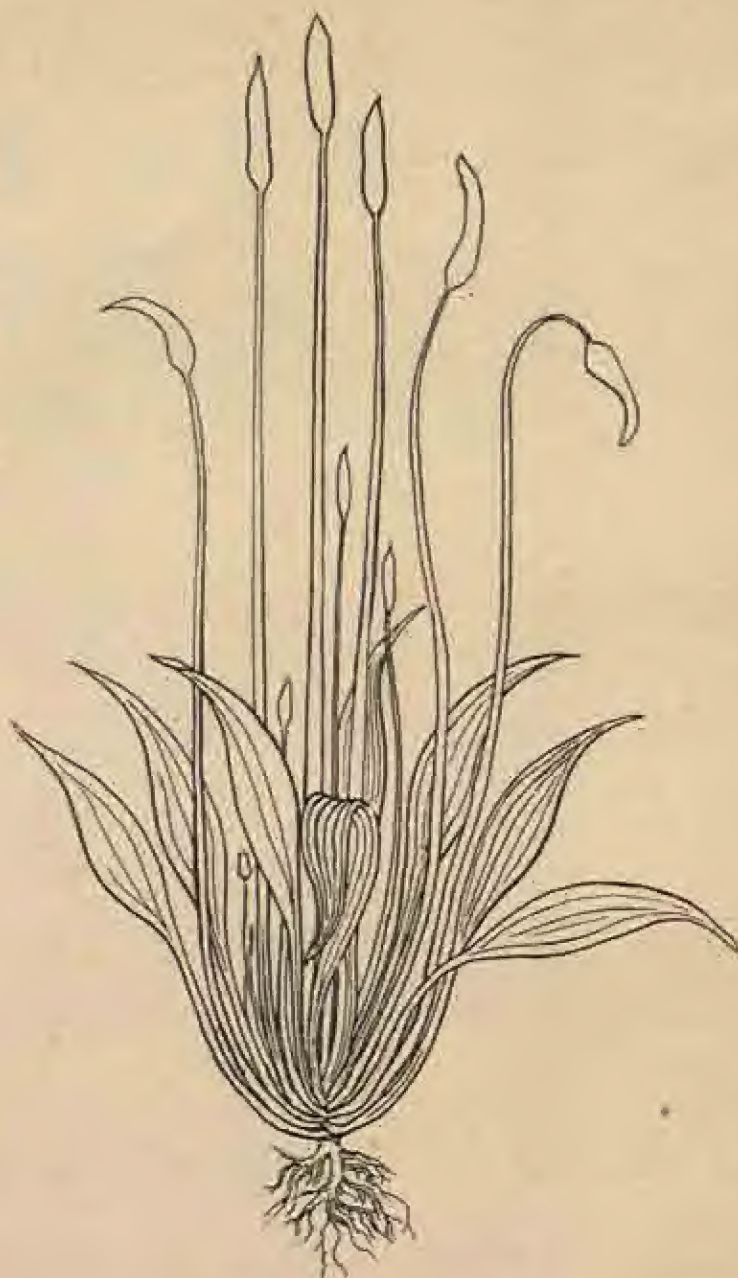
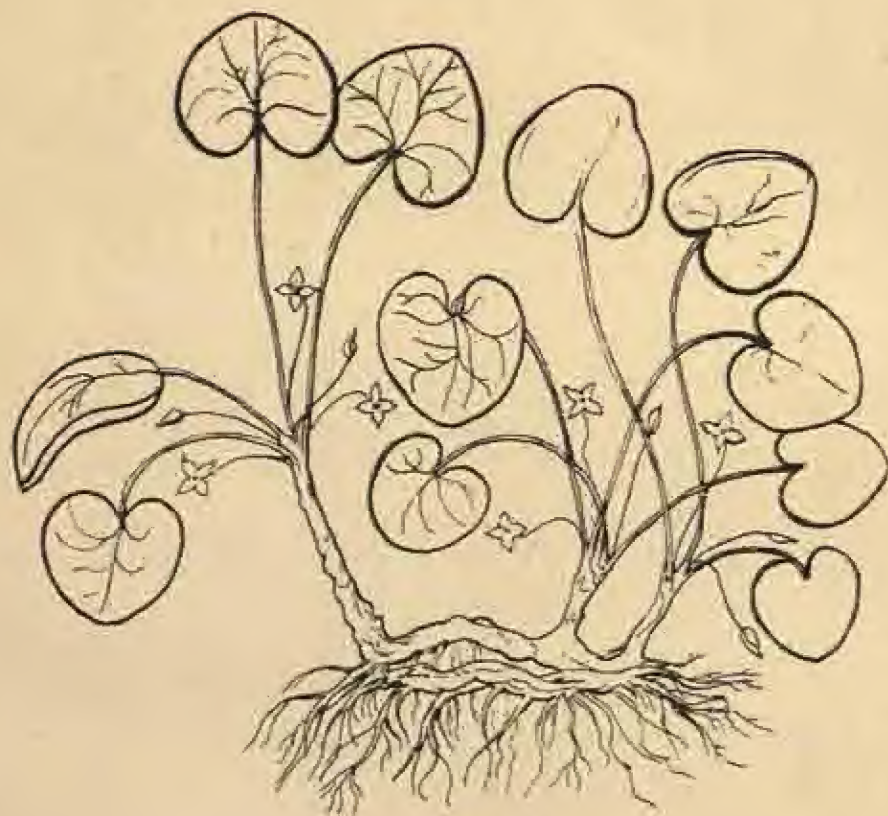


FIG. 10.—ARNOGLOSSON

(Plantago sp., fol. 20 v.)

It has the power of melting and curing inflammation. Pounded with fat and applied it is useful for those affected with malignant sores. In addition it is useful for . . . (passage here lost). (Fol. 30.)

FIG. 11.—*Asarum*

(Asarum Europaeum, fol. 30 v.)

It has warming and diuretic qualities, suited for chronic sciatica and dropsy. The roots promote the courses. Six of them taken in the manner of white hellebore with milk and honey are cathartic. It is compounded in perfumes and antidotes.²¹ (Fol. 31.)

²¹ Op. Pliny, XXI. § 78.



FIG. 12. ASTERION

(Silene linifolia, fol. 32 v.)

This pounded with green with old fat is good for those suffering from the bite of a mad dog or from goitre. Burnt as a fumigating agent it drives away wild animals. (Pol. 33.)



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.

THE TWO ANAGALLIDES

(*Anagallis arvensis* and *A. foemina*, fols. 39 v. and 40 v.)

They relieve inflammation. Both are medicines for wounds. They are extractors of splinters and prevent the spread of sores. Their juice, injected through the nose, cures toothache. It is to be injected by the nostril on the opposite side (to the diseased tooth). With Attic honey it cleaves corns and is useful for weak sight. Some say the plant with the purple flowers reduces prolapsus ani, but the scarlet-flowered plant provokes it. It is also used for the remedies (*herdais*) of Democritus.²¹ (Fol. 40.)

²¹ The last sentence is perhaps corrupt. In any event the meaning is lost. The 'remedies of Democritus' are mentioned in

several places by Pliny (XX, §§ 9, 13 and 53; XXV, § 6). For *Anagallis* injected into the nose *op.* Pliny, XXV, § 52.

Department of the British Museum of Natural History. I have obtained the figures by a very careful tracing of the outlines of the plants in a facsimile of Juliana Anicia. I avoid all attempt to represent shading, hoping thus to get nearer the original form. The tracings have been reduced photographically from the original size by about half the diameter, except those of the Anagallides (figs. 13 and 14), which are about one quarter diameter. It may be noted that all plants are represented with their roots. This is the universal rule in manuscript herbals.

§ 6: *Greek Herbalists of the First Century A.D.*—From the time of Kratesias there has been no lack of contributions to the development or, more accurately, to the extension of the herbal. In the first century of the Christian era appeared a number of works which had their influence in shaping the herbals of the Middle Ages.

The earliest of these first-century herbals was, perhaps, that of Pamphilos, a Greek physician who practised in Rome. He wrote a work on plants which, for the first time, was arranged in alphabetical order, a device subsequently often adopted. If Galen be just in his criticisms,²⁶ the work of Pamphilos resembled later herbals in other respects, for he tells us that the author described plants which he had evidently never seen, and that he mingled much absurd and superstitious matter with his imperfect descriptions.²⁷ Parts of this work of Pamphilos are contained in the Juliana Anicia MS.

At about the time of Pamphilos there flourished Menecrates, physician to the Emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). He wrote a treatise on drugs which included a preparation of which medical men speak to this day. It is known as *Diachylon plaster*, and its preparation is described by Galen.²⁸ The work of Menecrates is lost, but a *Diachylon plaster* has survived in modern medicine. The name has come down to us continuously through the Middle Ages, the composition being repeatedly altered. In our time it is the name alone that survives, for whereas the ancient *Diachylon* was compounded of juices of plants, the modern *Diachylon* is a preparation of lead.

Andromachos of Crete, physician to Nero (A.D. 54-68), was the first to bear the title *Archiatr*.²⁹ We have descriptions of a considerable number of preparations under his name.²⁷ He was the author of three works on remedies. His great title to fame, or at least to notoriety, is, however, his modification of the *mithridate* (p. 5) or *panacea*. This became in his hands an enormously complicated mixture to be used against all manner of poison, injury or disease. Up to the end of the eighteenth century it was the custom in certain continental cities to prepare once a year, in public and in the presence of the magistrates, a *Theriaca Andromachi*.³⁰ The word *Theriac* in this connexion has given rise to

²⁶ Galen, K. VI. p. 702 seq., XII. p. 31.

²⁷ For Pamphilos see M. Weimann, *Herodes*, I. l. p. 1.

²⁸ Galen, K. XIII. p. 896. See also K. XII. pp. 846 and 946.

²⁹ On the Archiaters see R. Briau, *L'Archiatre Romain ou la médecine officielle dans l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1877, and G.

Cros-Mayreviel, 'L'Assistance médicale dans l'antiquité,' in the *Revue Philanthropique*, Paris, October, 1897.

³⁰ Galen, K. XII. p. 626.

³¹ Thus in the University Library at Strasbourg, MS. Als. 35, is an 'Expositio theriacae Andromachi et coelestis et ex mithridati in officina Stoeplina

our word *treacle*.³⁰ The original text describing this wonderful concoction consisted, according to Galen, of 87 distiches of which the first 39 were devoted to eulogy of Nero, 'the giver of freedom.'³¹ The poem of Andromachos tells of forty-five ingredients of the remedy as against the thirty-eight of the original *mithridate* as recorded by Celsus. An eighteenth-century theriac had about 140 ingredients. These are the ways of herbal progress!

About the same time as Andromachos there lived the physician Servilius Damocrates, of whom Galen thought highly.³² Of the works of Damocrates some pages have survived.³³ They include what is evidently a fragment of a herbal,³⁴ in which we have descriptions of the habits and uses of the plant *iberis* and of the poppy. From the work on medicaments by Servilius Damocrates, Galen borrowed freely.³⁵

§ 7. *Dioskurides*.—All previous herbal writers fade into insignificance before Pedanios Dioskurides of Anazarba. He has stamped himself even on modern botanical nomenclature.

Dioskurides, after having studied at Alexandria and Tarsus, became attached as physician to the Roman army in Asia soon after the middle of the first Christian century. He tells us, in the preface to his great work, that he had visited many countries and that from his youth he was given to investigating plants. While not as credulous as many herbal writers, he yet exhibits no critical powers and little genuine scientific interest or capacity. His main interest, as with all herbalists, is a 'practical' one, and his descriptions of the plants are very brief when compared with the space that he gives to their application. It is possible that these descriptions have been abbreviated, in places at least, in the text that has come down to us.

There is a minor work, *Περὶ ἀνδρῶν φαρμάκων*, that bears the name of Dioskurides.³⁶ The only work that is certainly by him, however, is his *Περὶ ὧν ἰατρικῆς*, usually known as *De materia medica*. The Greek title, as we have seen, had already been used by Sextius Niger (c. 20 B.C., p. 3) for a similar composition. Dioskurides assures us that his own work differs from its predecessors in being arranged on a definite system. Nevertheless, his scheme does not contain any clear mode of classification.

MDCCXLIV.' See E. Wickersheimer in the *Bulletin de la Société de la Pharmacie*, March, 1920.

³⁰ There is much on the mediæval Theriacs and Mithridates in H. Schelenz, *Geschichte der Pharmazie*, Berlin, 1904; in A. Schmidt, *Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum*, Leipzig, 1924, who gives (p. 10) the Theriac of Andromachos in convenient form; in the same author's *Die Kölner Apotheken*, Bonn, 1918, and in L. Lewin, *Die Gifte in der Weltgeschichte*, Berlin, 1920.

³¹ The poem of Andromachos is printed by I. L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici graeci scriptores*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1841, I. p. 138, and Galen, XIV. p. 32. It is to be found

in a fifteenth-century MS. in the British Museum, Additional 19053, E. 161 v., and in another of the fifteenth century in St. Mark's Library at Venice, MS. 281.

³² Galen, K. XII. p. 889.

³³ The fragments of Damocrates are collected by C. Bussomaker, *Fragmenta poematum rim naturalium vel medicinarum spectantium*, Paris, 1850.

³⁴ Preserved in Galen, K. XIII. p. 359.

³⁵ Galen, K. XIII. p. 996.

³⁶ See M. Wellmann, *Die Schrift des Dioskurides, Περὶ ἀνδρῶν φαρμάκων*, Berlin, 1914. The work itself is reprinted by Wellmann in his edition of Dioskurides, III. 150.

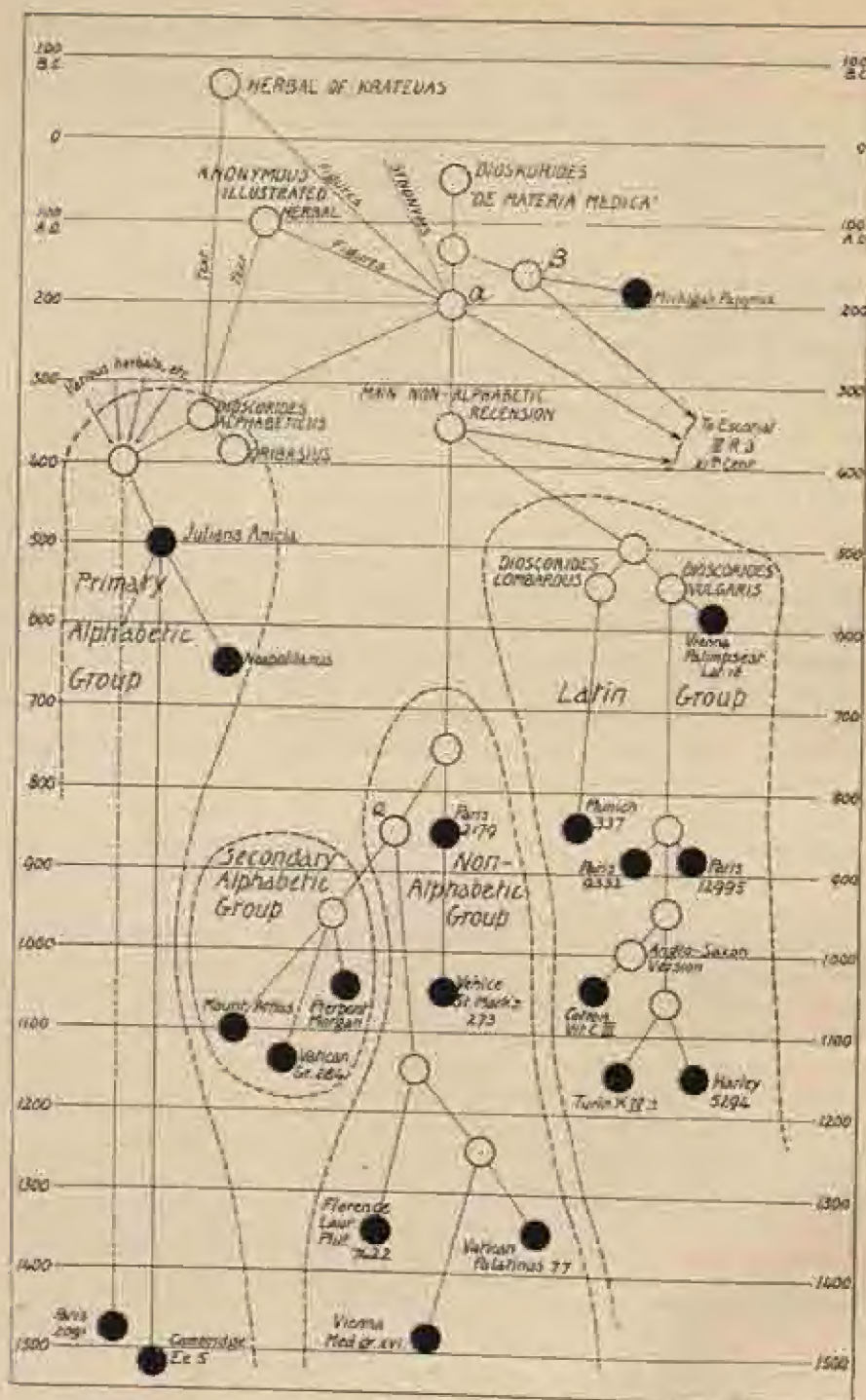


FIG. 15.—CHART SHOWING LINES OF DESCENT OF SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT MSS. OF DIOSCORIDES.

The black circles signify existing manuscripts.

The herbal of Dioskurides is divided up into short sections or chapters, each of which usually discusses a single drug. In the case of those sections which deal with plants, the name is given first, followed by the Greek synonym, or, in a few cases, by the Latin synonym in Greek letters. Then comes a short description of the plant, followed by a reference to its place of origin or habitat. Lastly, the mode of preparation of the drug and its uses in medicine are detailed.

In many cases the descriptions of Dioskurides are adequate for the diagnosis of the plant, but in others the plants are quite unrecognisable. It is, however, to be remembered that the task of identifying the Dioskuridean plants need not be quite abandoned until there has been a full scientific exploration of the flora of Asia Minor.⁴⁶ The botanist de Tournefort (1656-1708), during his journey in that region, was able to identify a great number of the plants of Dioskurides.⁴⁷ Many also were identified by John Sibthorp (1758-96), who travelled extensively in the Eastern Mediterranean and had personally examined the Juliana Anicia Codex.⁴⁸

No definite system of classification is adopted by Dioskurides, but occasionally he groups plants according to their outward habit, so that various members of such groups as, for instance, Labiatae, Papilionaceae, Umbelliferae and Compositae fall together. This method does not avoid extraordinary misunderstandings. Thus we find *Delphinium* among the Ranunculaceae and the Composite *Anthemis Pyrethrum* with the Umbelliferae. A certain amount of grouping is determined by the properties or supposed properties of the plants under consideration. Thus in Book III we encounter together a number of plants that are sour or that are supposed to be aphrodisiac.

Dioskurides writes provincial Greek and is not fully conversant with the literary language. He is conscious of this defect, for in the preface of the book he begs Areios, to whom it is dedicated, 'to consider not his expository power but the experience and care involved.'

The book of Dioskurides reveals a long lineage of works similar to itself. It is evident that its author leans heavily on Sextius Niger and Kratueas. From Iollas of Bithynia, Andreas, Herakleides of Tarentum, Julius Bassus the Asclepiad and a number of others, he has taken particular points. He quotes too from works bearing the better known names of Hippocrates, Theophrastus, Erasistratos and Nikander, not neglecting Juba, the learned king of Numidia, of whose herbal achievements we hear from Pliny.

Dioskurides mentions about five hundred plants. Of these about one hundred and thirty are in the *Hippocratic Collection*.⁴⁹ Many of these drugs had, therefore, been in use in the Greek world for at least four centuries before Dioskurides wrote. But if the Dioskuridean herbs can be traced backward they can also be followed forward. A considerable number of items of the Dioskuri-

⁴⁶ The most satisfactory identifications of the Dioskuridean flora will be found in J. Berendes, *Des Pedanius Dioskurides aus Anazarbos Arzneimittellehre*, Stuttgart, 1902.

⁴⁷ J. P. de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Paris, 1717.

⁴⁸ Sibthorp's *Flora Graeca* was post-

humously published in an edition of only thirty copies in ten volumes, by J. E. Smith and J. Lindley, between 1806 and 1840.

⁴⁹ B. Moek, *Pflanzliche Arzneimittel bei Dioskurides die schon in Corpus Hippocraticum vorkommen*, Inaug. Diss., Tübingen, 1919.

dean pharmacopoeia have survived in the modern official pharmacopoeias of civilised Europe.⁵⁰ Among these are Almonds, Aloes, Ammoniacum, Aniseed, Belladonna, Camomile, Cardomoms, Catechu, Cinnamon, Colehicum, Colocynth, Coriander, Crocus, Dill, Galbanum, Galls, Gentian, Ginger, Hyoscyamus, Juniper, Lavender, Linseed, Liquorice, Male Fern, Mallow, Marjoram, Mustard, Myrrh, Olive Oil, Pepper, Peppermint, Poppy, Rhubarb, Sesame, Squill, Starch, Stavesacre, Storax, Stramonium, Sugar, Terebinth, Thyme, Tragacanth, Wormwood. All of these have come to us through the Middle Ages, some continuously and some through the Arabian physicians in translations prepared between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Of these forty-four items only about a quarter have any definite pharmacological action. The remainder are diluents, flavouring agents, emollients and the like.

§ 8. *The Greek MSS. of Dioskurides* (Fig. 15).—The number of Greek MSS. of Dioskurides is very large and their relationship is extremely complicated.⁵¹ Some light has recently been shed by the study of a papyrus fragment of the second century known as the Michigan papyrus.⁵² Here I discuss only a few of the more important lines of descent. Of the relationship even of these, I can attempt only the merest sketch.

The work of Dioskurides appeared about the middle of the first century A.D. By the end of the second century, at least two recensions of the original text were available. Of one of these recensions, β , we have an almost contemporary fragment in the papyrus at Michigan. Only one other descendant of this recension (Escorial III. R. 3) seems to have survived. This descendant is, therefore, of some importance for fixing the text.⁵³ All other known manuscripts are derived from the other recension, α .

Before the end of the third century, and perhaps before the end of the second, the main Recension which we designate α became associated with a number of synonyms of plant names, and with the figures of at least two illustrated herbals, one of which was that of Krateuas. The resultant is the source of the remaining MSS. From some of these MSS., however, the synonyms or figures or both, have been more or less completely omitted. Many of the manuscripts, moreover, have become contaminated, to a greater or less degree, with other material. These modifications are in addition to ordinary scribal accidents. Thus, the restoration of the original text of Dioskurides has been excessively laborious, and has demanded the highest critical skill. The task has been accomplished by Professor Wellmann of Berlin.

⁵⁰ R. Schmidt, *Die noch gebräuchlichen Arzneimittel bei Dioskurides*, Inaug. Diss., Tübingen, 1919.

⁵¹ The study of the MSS. of Dioskurides is chiefly the work of M. Wellmann, who has devoted an immense amount of labour to the subject. Wellmann's conclusions will be found in the article in Pauly-Wissen's *Realencyclopädie*, Vol. V., Stuttgart, 1905, and in the preface to Vol. II. of his text of Dioskurides, Berlin, 1906-7. Much information can be obtained from H. Diels,

Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte, II., Berlin, 1906. Some results are summarised by Charles Singer, *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, II. p. 64, Oxford, 1931.

⁵² C. Bonner, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIII 1922, p. 142.

⁵³ Escorial III. R. 3 is an eleventh-century manuscript, which has been prepared with reference also to other sources.



FIG. 16.—FROM NEOPLATONIUS, Fo. 58, SHOWING FIGURES OF ΓΑΛΛΑΙΟΝ (*Galium verum*), ΓΕΠΑΝΙΟΝ (*Erodium malachoides*) AND ΓΕΠΑΝΙΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΟΝ (*Geranium molle*).

Compare Figs. 17 and 18. Note how the artist of the Neoplatonius has misunderstood the form of the leaf of *Erodium malachoides*, though he has imitated such details as the falling petals. He has greatly coarsened and simplified the Juliana Anicia figures. Some of the changes result from crowding several figures—usually three—on a page, a method he adopts throughout. Note the Latin glosses.



FIG. 17.—JULIANA ANICIA, Fo. 85, ΓΕΠΑΝΙΟΝ (*Erodium malachoides*).



FIG. 18.—JULIANA ANICIA, Fo. 86, ΓΕΠΑΝΙΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΟΝ (*Geranium molle*).

The synonyms associated with the text of Dioskurides are perhaps derived from the Alexandrian lexicographer, Pamphilos, of the first century A.D., who is not to be confused with the contemporary botanist, the Roman physician of the same name (p. 18). Many of the synonyms are drawn from very unusual sources and even from languages of which we now know nothing. Their further study may well yield interesting philological results.⁵⁴ The titles include: African, 'Andreae medici,' Armenian, 'Bessicum,' Boeotian, Cappadocian, Dacian, 'Dardana,' 'Democriti,' Egyptian, Ethiopian, Gallish, Spanish, 'Ietrici,' 'Lucanica,' 'Marsum,' Osthania, 'Prophetæ,' Pythagoreans, Romans ('Ρωμαῖοι), Tuscans, and Zoroastrians. It is an index of the static character of mediaeval thought that these synonyms were copied and recopied in both Latin and Greek herbals, right on to the sixteenth century, when the languages from which they were drawn had been extinct for more than a thousand years.⁵⁵ A further discussion of the uses of these synonyms will be found on p. 33.

Besides the synonyms and the figures from the herbals that passed into Recension α, parts of the text of Krateuas and of another illustrated herbal passed into a descendant of that recension. This version was then alphabetically rearranged, and may be designated *Dioscorides alphabeticus* (see Fig. 15). From this rearrangement Oribasios (325-403), physician to the Emperor Julian, writing about the year 400, made excerpts for his great compilation, the *Ἱεράκλει Συγγρῶμα*. Moreover, the alphabetical recension acquired other accretions with which we are not here concerned. It was from such composite sources that the Juliana Anicia was derived.⁵⁶

To the class derived from the alphabetical rearrangement of the fourth century belong the earliest and most beautiful of the manuscripts of Dioskurides. First of these is the *Juliana Anicia*, written in capitals. Next in beauty and age is a half-uncial MS. of the seventh century, the *Neapolitanus*, now in St. Mark's Library at Venice.⁵⁷ Many of the figures in the *Neapolitanus* are good and naturalistic. At first sight one might conclude that they were the work of some gifted artist of the seventh century, born out of his time and maintaining something of the classical vigour. A comparison of his figures with those of the *Juliana Anicia* at once dispels this vision and reveals the manner of work of the artist. The figures of the *Neapolitanus* are nothing but simplified, coarsened and sometimes misunderstood versions of those of the *Juliana Anicia*. They exhibit no attempt to appeal to nature (See Fig. 16, and compare with Figs. 17 and 18).

The figures of the *Juliana Anicia* MS. were themselves often copied, especially at the Revival of Learning.⁵⁸ Apart from direct copies, there was

⁵⁴ A bibliography of some of the writings on them is given in J. de Karabogek, *De codicis Dioscoridei Aniciani Julianae*, Leyden, 1906, p. 82.

⁵⁵ Some of these names are discussed by M. Wellmann in *Herren*, XXXIII, p. 369, Berlin, 1898.

⁵⁶ Charles Singer, *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, II, p. 63, Oxford, 1921, for a description of the various

sources of *Juliana Anicia*.

⁵⁷ A facsimile page of this *Neapolitanus* will be found in the *New Palaeographical Society*, II, Plate 43.

⁵⁸ There is a good fifteenth-century copy of *Juliana Anicia* in the University Library at Cambridge, Ec 5. Another is described by O. Penzig, *Contributions alla storia della botanica*, Genoa, 1904.

a line of descent from this MS. during the Middle Ages (compare Figs. 19, 20) that persisted to the fifteenth century (represented, for example, by Paris, Gr. 2091 Fig. 21, compare with Fig. 22).⁵⁹ The Juliana and all its relations we may call the *primary alphabetic group*. The MSS. in this group stand apart from all others.

There is another class of alphabetical text in which the original division into five books is preserved, but in which the material is arranged in alphabetical order within each of the five books. This arrangement was probably not made before the ninth century (see Fig. 15). These MSS. we may class as the



FIG. 19.—VATICAN GR. 234. WRITTEN ABOUT 1100, SHOWING, FO. 27 v. +ALIOAOZ, A YOUNG BEAN PLANT.



FIG. 20.—JULIANA ANICIA, FO. 370 v. +ACIOAOZ, A YOUNG BEAN PLANT.

secondary alphabetic group. It seems likely that the parent MS. of this group was near relation to the hypothetical document Q of Wellmann. Q was the ancestor of certain much-studied, later, non-alphabetic MSS. It seems to me likely, moreover, that some of the figures of the secondary alphabetic group were checked with reference to the Juliana Anicia. I have compared the figures of the Pierpont Morgan MS., the best representative of the secondary alphabetic class, with the facsimile of the Juliana Anicia. In some cases the resemblances of the figures are remarkably close, though in other cases they are very different from each other.

⁵⁹ Paris 2091 is a volume of medical fragments. The figures in question are on folios 113-117 v. A seventeenth-century

descendant of the Juliana Anicia is at Bologna.



FIG. 21.—PARIS, GR. 2091. FIFTEENTH CENTURY. Fo. 116. *Silene linifolia*.



FIG. 22.—JULIANA ASIOLA, SIXTH CENTURY. Fo. 33. *Silene linifolia*.
Reduced from Fig. 12 for comparison with Fig. 21.

The subject matter of the remaining Greek MSS. of Dioskurides is not in alphabetic order. These manuscripts are extremely numerous, and in most cases comparatively recent. Despite their relative lateness, their want of beauty, and their bad state, it is among them that there are to be found the most important documents for fixing the text.



FIG. 23.—HALF-PAGE FROM PARIS, BIBL. NAT. 2179.

WRITTEN IN EGYPT IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

Above is shown *Asperner*, a plant which cannot be identified.
Below is *Mandragora*. There are Arabic and Latin glosses.

Of the non-alphabetic Greek MSS. the best is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Grec 2179). This MS. was written in Egypt in the ninth century (Fig. 23). It is the standard for fixing the text. Paris Grec 2179 is fairly illustrated, and its figures, which have hardly been studied hitherto, present features

which complicate the question of descent. The figures themselves are for the most part naturalistically drawn, though none are original or from the object. The MS. is in a poor state, so that most of the figures are greatly deteriorated. Some, e.g. that of the Croton oil plant (Figs. 24 and 25), are in the full tradition of the primary alphabetic group. Others are very far removed from that tradition. Of these latter we may specially refer to two, the mandrake and the 'lochitis.'

There are three figures of mandrakes in Paris 2179, but none is given human attributes. I do not know any other non-anthropomorphic mediæval representation of mandrakes. Unfortunately, we cannot compare the mandrakes



FIG. 24.—JULIANA ANICIA, FO. 170 v.
KPOEIN H KHRI, CROTON OIL PLANT.
Ricinus communis.



FIG. 25.—PARIS, GR. 2179, FO. 131 v.
CROTON OIL PLANT.

of Paris 2179 with that of the Juliana Anicia, because the original section on the mandrake is missing from the Juliana Anicia, though the plant is represented elsewhere in that volume (Fig. 3). There is, however, an anthropomorphic mandrake in its proper place in the series in Anicia's relative, the closely allied Neapolitanus. Moreover, there is an anthropomorphic mandrake closely similar to that of the Neapolitanus in the Pierpont Morgan Codex (Fig. 35), which is a distant cousin to Paris 2179. On these and on other grounds we may make two inferences:—

(a) The figures of Paris 2179 contain traditions different from those of any known MS.

(b) These traditions are very early, dating back to the period of naturalistic

draughtsmanship, i.e. not later than the second or third century A.D., and probably earlier. Some of its sources differ from those of Juliana Anicia.

But though Paris 2179 does not render the mandrake anthropomorphically, this must not be attributed to wisdom on the part of the ninth-century artist who illustrated it. Elsewhere, copying doubtless from yet another ancient source, he falls readily enough. Thus, for instance, his *λοχίτης*, which does not resemble that of Juliana Anicia, is fully anthropomorphic (Figs. 26 and 27).

Paris 2179 is partly illegible, but can be supplemented from a copy of the eleventh century made at Venice. Other MSS. of the same class but of later date are at Florence, the Vatican and Vienna. There are also very numerous interpolated and inferior MSS. derived from the same tradition. These extend to the seventeenth century and beyond, but need not detain us.

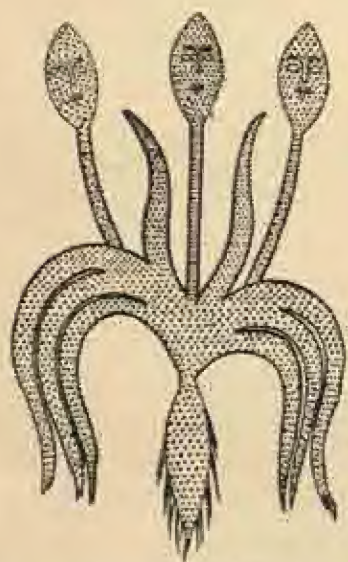


FIG. 26.—PARIS, GR. 2179, FO. 65.
ANTHROPOMORPHIC 'ΛΟΧΙΤΗΣ.'
Plant cannot be identified.

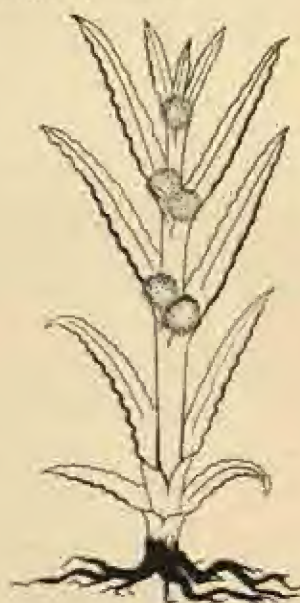


FIG. 27.—JULIANA ANICIA, FO. 213 v.
NONANTHROPOMORPHIC 'ΛΟΧΙΤΗΣ.'
Scrophularia lingua.

§ 9. *Later Greek Herbs.*—After Dioskurides the only important Greek writer whom we know to have deeply influenced the herbal was Galen. His work *Περὶ κρᾶσεως καὶ δυνάμεως τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων* is often spoken of as *De simplicibus*. Parts of it are included in the Juliana Anicia. It consists of eleven books, of which the first eight were prepared before A.D. 180. Books I and II are concerned with various points in the composition of medicines and are thus important for the development of pharmacy rather than of the herbal. Books III–V contain a statement of a very peculiar pharmacological theory which had great effect on the development of mediæval medicine, but which does not concern us here. Books VI–VIII contain a list of drugs and their uses arranged in alphabetical order according to the names of the drugs. This is the earliest alphabetical herbal that has survived. The alphabetical



FIG. 28.—LEYDEN, *Foss Q 9*, SEVENTH CENTURY. 'SINIFON.'



FIG. 29.—CASSEL, *APULEIUS* *PO*/14v, 'SINIFON.'



FIG. 30.—LEYDEN, *Foss Q 9*, *PO*. 108. 'HERBACEI.'

idea caught on and, as we have seen, affected the text of Dioskurides in the fourth century.

The alphabetical herbal of Galen is divided into paragraphs, most of which correspond to a single plant. The paragraphs open with the name of the plant, sometimes with synonyms added. Galen then usually mentions the locality from which the plant comes and its difference from or likeness to allied plants. More seldom he gives a description of the plant. He closes by dealing with its medical application.

The second century of the Christian era saw with Galen the termination of the creative period of Greek science and the silting up of the channels by which the human mind could be refreshed by new knowledge. Oribasios (325-403), whose works became most popular in the Dark Ages, borrowed freely from Galen, *On Simples*, as he did from Dioskurides, *De materia medica*, for his *Synagoge* and his *Euporista*. The *Simples* of Galen, like the *Materia medica* of Dioskurides and the *Synagoge* and *Euporista* of Oribasios, were early translated into Latin.

But even the herbal works of Dioskurides, Galen and Oribasios were too difficult for the wilting mind of the Dark Ages. They had serious competitors in yet shorter and easier works. Such simple herbals had been in existence as far back as the days of Theophrastus, but with the decay of the Western intellect they came to be used even by professional physicians, among whom they tended to displace treatises demanding a slightly greater mental effort. Among these feeble works for feeble minds were herbals which resembled that of Kratenas, in giving only the name of the plant accompanied by a picture and a very brief account of its uses. Papyrus fragments of two Greek forms of such documents have come down to us. One is of the second or third century of the Christian era. It describes several plants, of which the name of only one, *pseudo-dictamon*, can be distinguished. It is but a tiny fragment, but we can see enough to say that its illustrations were of the most formal and diagrammatic character.⁸⁰ Of the other, of the fourth-fifth century of the Christian era, we now proceed to give an account. We would distinguish it by designating it the *Johnson papyrus*.

§ 10. *The Johnson Papyrus* (Plates I and II).—This papyrus fragment was found by Mr. J. de M. Johnson in 1904, while working at Antinoë for the Egypt Exploration Fund, now the Egypt Exploration Society. I have to thank Mr. Johnson for drawing my attention to it and for obtaining permission to describe it. All the fragments found with it were of about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Such a date as A.D. 400 would accord well with the script on our fragment.

The extreme length of the papyrus is 22.7 millimetres and the extreme breadth 11.1 millimetres, from which it will be seen that our coloured figures are slightly reduced. The fragment was a page in a codex, and there is evidence that its full size was about 25 by 16 millimetres. It is in a fair state of preservation. The colours of the paintings are clearly discernible, and are

⁸⁰ J. de M. Johnson, *A Botanical Papyrus with Illustrations*; *Archiv für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, IV. p. 403, Leipzig, 1912.

well represented on our coloured plates. The special interest of this papyrus lies in the relationship, both of its text and figures, to the Latin work known as the *Herbarium Apulei*.

On the recto is a cabbage-like plant with heavy leaves of bluish-grey closely applied to each other. It bears the title *CYMΦYTON*. There is no figure of *Symphyton* in the Juliana Anicia MS., but our figure accords well with the *Sinfilos* of the Leyden Apuleius (Fig. 28) of the seventh century and better with that of the Cassel Apuleius of the ninth century (Fig. 29). Both these MSS. we shall presently discuss (p. 43). Below the cabbage-like plant, in the papyrus, roots can be seen. Underneath I have been able to read a few words, which Mr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum has kindly checked and amplified as follows:—

CΥΜΦ[ΥΤΟΝ] []
 ΑΥΤΗ Η ΒΟΤΑΝΗ ΤΡ[Ι]ΒΟΜ[ΕΝΗ]
 ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕΙ ΠΑΣΑΝ[]
 ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΑ Κ[ΑΙ]
 ΚΟΠΑΣ ΚΟΛΛ[]
 ΤΑΣ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥ[ΕΙ]
 1 line defaced []
 [. .] ΠΕΡ[Ι]

On the verso is a plant with a brown bulbous base from which four or five shoots go upwards, and a number of roots downwards. The shoots bear greenish-yellow leaves and bluish-brown bulbs. Not much of the text for this plant can be read in the papyrus, but Mr. Bell and I have been able to distinguish the words:—

ΦΛΟΜΜΟΣ
 ΤΟΝ ΧΥΛΟΝ
 [. .] ΜΟΥΧΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΕΛΟΣ ΔΔ
 ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΟΝ
 ΠΟΙΕΙ ΦΛ
 ΘΡΟ
 ΤΟΥ Β.ΔΔ
 ΩΝ ΚΑΙ Π
 ΘΕΡΑ]ΠΕΥΕΙ Υ

Thus, two parts of the plant *Phlomis*, namely, the juice (*ΧΥΛΟΝ*) and the pith (*ΜΥΕΛΟΣ*), were used. There is not the slightest resemblance between the *ΦΛΟΜΜΟΣ* of our papyrus and the figures of *ΦΛΟΜΜΟΣ* exhibited in the Juliana Anicia MS. The figure accords fairly well, however, with the *Verbascum seu Flogmon* of the Leyden Apuleius of the seventh century (Fig. 30), allowing for the usual misinterpretations of the illustrators of MSS. of this type.

It may be asked why the two plants *CYMFYTON* (*Sinfitos*) and *ΦΛΟΜΜΟC* (*Verbascum*) are to be found on consecutive pages of the papyrus? Is the sequence or association encountered elsewhere? Now, in discussing the illustrated MS. herbals, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that they are merely literary products. During the period under consideration their preparation implied and involved no real knowledge of the plants. In many cases, as in those of the papyrus herbal, the plant is quite unrecognisable, even by a modern botanist. It may be assumed that any plant that bore a general resemblance to the picture would serve the herbalist's turn. But, while neglecting the study of nature, the manufacturers of these herbals stressed greatly the names of the plants, as is shown by the constant recurrence of the synonyms. In this they showed their knowledge of their market. The users of these documents in later ages often glossed the pictures in the vernacular, for the synonyms had then become meaningless. At an earlier date the synonym lists served the purpose of glosses. Even in modern England, the same plant is frequently called by different names and different plants by the same name, in different parts of the country. How much more would this be so in the vast and polyglot Roman Empire, with no scientific botanists to preserve a standard. As regards names of plants in antiquity, we have thus, very often, to deal only with words which have no botanical facts behind them. Now it happens that there is manuscript authority for the association of the names *CYMFYTON* and *ΦΛΟΜΜΟC*. In the text of Dioskurides (I. 28) we learn that the plant *Ἑλένιον* has both *Symphyton* and *Flomos* as synonyms:

οἱ δὲ σύμφυτον . . . : αἱ δὲ φλόμον Ἰδαῖον καλοῦσιν :

and then, in the next paragraph (I. 29), we learn that Krateuas himself had described a variety of this plant from Egypt:

Ἑλένιον ἄλλο ἱστορεῖ Κρατεύας γενᾶσθαι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.

The association of the two plant names *ΦΛΟΜΜΟC* and *CYMFYTON* is therefore in the Greek tradition.

From our examination of this fragment of papyrus, we have inferred that it is from a Greek work similar in form, substance and illustration to the Latin Apuleius, which was among the most widespread of Latin medical documents during the Dark Ages. We have only a single folio of the papyrus, but both text and figures on each side are of a type, compass and arrangement familiar in Latin dress. To the Latin herbals we therefore turn.

§ 11. *Earlier Latin Herbals*.—The Latin herbals that were passed on to the Middle Ages were of Greek origin. The Greek herbals, however, did not find the Latin field altogether unoccupied. Thus, Cato the Censor had a book of remedies in his possession, by the help of which he treated the maladies of his son, his servants and his friends.⁴¹ Extracts from that book are to be found in his *De re rustica*. It contained many simple herbal remedies interspersed with charms and spells. The herbals, however, that came to hold the day among the Latins contain relatively few magical elements.

⁴¹ Pliny, XIX. § 8.

More dependent on Greek sources than Cato is the vast compilation of Pliny, of which Books XX-XXV form, in fact, a herbal. The main part of Pliny's herbal is made up of short paragraphs which tell us of the nature and uses of plants, much in the manner of Dioskurides. Pliny and Dioskurides were almost contemporary, but neither refers to the other, though they often overlap or supplement each other. Pliny is less systematic and more credulous than Dioskurides, and his remedies, while no more effective, are certainly, on the whole, more disgusting. Much of Pliny's herbal is derived from Theophrastus or from the same sources as Theophrastus.⁶²

In the period immediately following Pliny we hear little of Latin herbals, though we have a number of medical compositions of equally low grade. Such are the poem of Quintus Serenus Sammonicus (third century) and the work ascribed to Gargilius Martialis (died 360). More directly in the line of the herbal is the *De virtutibus pigmentorum vel herbarum aromaticarum* of Theodorus Priscianus, physician to the Emperor Gratian (375-83).⁶³ This is of the nature of an exceedingly simple alphabetical herbal which is natural fellow to the more popular work bearing the name of Apuleius (see p. 37). Priscianus borrows from the herbal of Galen (p. 29).

In the fifth or sixth century, Galen *On Simples*, as well as Dioskurides *De materia medica*, were translated into Latin. They had much influence on the late mediæval herbals, which also absorbed material from the imbecile and filthy works to which are attached the names of Marcellus Empiricus Burdigaliensis and Sextus Empiricus Papyriensis, both probably of the fifth century. Little later than these is the translation into Latin of the Greek text of Dioskurides, to which our story now leads us.

§ 12. *The Latin Dioscorides* (Fig. 15).—In the sixth century, two versions or translations of Dioskurides from Greek into Latin were made in Italy. Of these two versions one is usually designated *Dioscorides Lombardus*. It is well represented by a South Italian MS. of the ninth century, in the Beneventan script sometimes misleadingly called *Lombardic*, now at Munich.⁶⁴ This remarkable manuscript still preserves the numbering of the chapters in Greek letters, but has dropped the lists of synonyms. It has a very peculiar set of figures that have no relation to the Krætean line. The origin of these figures in the Munich MS. is not, as yet, apparent.

The other version we may designate *Dioscorides vulgaris*. Of it, or of some similar version, we have an almost contemporary specimen in a Vienna palimpsest of about 600.⁶⁵ It was perhaps *Dioscorides vulgaris* that was known to Cassiodorus (490-585), who recommended illustrated copies of it to such of his monks in the Vivarium at Squillace as were unable to read Greek.⁶⁶ It had

⁶² J. G. Sprengel, *De ratione quæ in Historia plantarum inter Plinium et Theophrastum intercedit*, Marburg, 1890.

⁶³ Edited by Valentine Rose, Leipzig, 1894.

⁶⁴ Munich 337. Printed in full by K. Hoffmann, T. M. Auerhor and H. Stadler, in K. Vollmüller's *Romanische Forschungen*, I, 50; X, 181; X, 301; XI, 1. Erlangen, 1882-1897.

⁶⁵ Vienna, Lat. 18. See Oser, *Recht. phil. Wochens.*, 1906, p. 322, and Eichenfeld, *Wiener Jahrbuch der Literatur*, XVI, p. 30.

⁶⁶ Cassiodorus, *Institutio divinorum literarum*, c. 31. "Si vobis non fuerit grecarum litterarum nota facundia, imprimis habetis herbarium Dioscoridis qui herbas agrorum mirabili proprietate disseruit atque depinxit."

been prepared from a non-alphabetical recension, an ancestor of Paris 2179 (Fig. 15 and p. 27).

Of this main Latin tradition there are scores of MSS.,⁸⁷ many of them combined or mixed with the *Herbarium Apulei Platonici* (see p. 37). Yet others are combined or mixed with the so-called *Dioscoridis de Herbis Femininis* (p. 47). Moreover, the descent of the figures in the MSS. of *Dioscorides vulgaris* is not always identical with that of the texts. Since the number of the MSS. is immense, and since they are scattered all over Europe, their relationships cannot yet be described. Our account is tentative and deals only with one or two interesting lines.

Among the earlier MSS. of the combination of the *Herbarium Apulei* with *Dioscorides vulgaris* are two Paris MSS. of the ninth century, which bear traces of South Italian derivation (12995 and 9332). From a version not very distant from these was prepared, again in South Italy, a Turin MS. of the eleventh century (Turin K IV 3) in Beneventan script.⁸⁸ A sister MS. in another script has Anglo-Saxon glosses (Harley 5294). A copy of a version in Anglo-Saxon with many interpolations, and adorned with superb illustrations, partly destroyed by fire (Cotton Vitellius C III),⁸⁹ belongs also to the South Italian tradition.⁹⁰ The Mediterranean original of the Anglo-Saxon illustrations obtrudes itself in many places. Thus the representation of a scorpion (Plate III) is good and naturalistic. Again, the figures of such common plants as the henbane and mugwort (Plate IV) are of southern and not of English species, though the native forms were important in Anglo-Saxon magic. Even more significant is it that the figures of the first printed herbal—issued at Rome about the year 1481—are nearer the Anglo-Saxon figures than those of any surviving MS. The cause of this becomes clear when we find that the Roman herbal was itself printed from a Montecassino original (see § 13, p. 39, and Figs. 36 and 37). The contemporary figures closest to the Anglo-Saxon are in a Paris MS. (Lat. 6862), which also has southern affiliations (Figs. 31 and 32, and compare Plates III and IV), though its position in the line of descent is not yet clear to me.

Among the numerous manuscripts of *Dioscorides vulgaris* are two sister MSS. written in Germany late in the twelfth century. One is in the British Museum (Harley 4986) and the other is at Eton College. Both are combined with Apuleius, and the latter contains a frontispiece in which rhizotomists are represented at work (Plate V).⁹¹ On the left two bearded rhizotomists dig up plants under the direction of a youth, who is, perhaps, meant for Aesculapius. They use special instruments designed to avoid injuring the roots. On the right

⁸⁷ The list given by H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*, Berlin, 1900, is very imperfect, and includes only a fraction of the MSS.

⁸⁸ Reproduced in the Atlas of P. Giacomini, *Magistri Salernitani mundum editi*, Rome, 1901. See also his text, p. 352.

⁸⁹ Printed by O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols., Vol. I., London, 1864.

⁸⁹ A number of medical MSS. in the Beneventan script, and therefore of South Italian origin, are listed by E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 18-19. There are, however, also many South Italian medical MSS. not in this script.

⁹¹ Reproduced as frontispiece by E. Rohde, *Old English Herbals*, London, 1922, and here given by kind permission of Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co.



FIG. 31.—BIBL. NAT. Lat. 6862, TENTH CENTURY.
 FO. 23. SNAKE AND SCORPION FIGHTING.
 Compare Plate III.



FIG. 32.—BIBL. NAT. Lat. 6862, TENTH CENTURY. FO. 30 r.
 'ARTEMISIA' (*Artemisia Pontica*).
 Compare Plate IV.

sits a physician holding a jar. He gives instructions to an apothecary, who weighs out drugs. The draughtsmanship of this representation preserves some memories of the classical tradition of the well-known early MSS. of Terence.⁷² Both these MSS. exhibit signs of the passage of their drawings of plants into formal shapes which lead on to the distinctive Anglo-Norman type (see p. 43), and both exhibit many theriomorphic forms (Plate VI).

During the Middle Ages Dioscorides was widely read by the Latins, and parts were naturally absorbed into other writings. This was the case with the work known as *Dioscoridis de herbis femininis*, with which I deal later (§ 15, p. 47). Partly derived from the Latin Dioscorides is also the famous herbal in verse bearing the name 'Macer Floridus,' composed in 1161 by Odo of Meane. Another well-known herbal of the twelfth century going back to the same source is the so-called *Circa Instans* of Matthaeus Platearius of Naples. In the following century there is evidence that Simon Cordo of Genoa drew on *Dioscorides Lombardus*, relying on the present MS. Munich 337 (p. 34) for his very popular dictionary of simples.⁷³ Some of the great scholastic encyclopaedists, such as Bartholomew the Englishman (c. 1260) and Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190-c. 1264), similarly depended on the Latin translations of Dioscorides.

At the advent of printing, the old *Dioscorides vulgaris* was still being studied. It appeared in print in 1478⁷⁴ and again in 1512. Aldus Manutius produced the *editio princeps* of the Greek text in 1499, and this formed the basis of the very numerous editions and translations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of these the most important was that of Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501-77), which was first published at Venice in 1554, ran through a vast number of editions in many languages, and is a basic work of modern botany.

§ 13. *The Herbal of Apuleius* (Fig. 33).—The most widely-read of the late classical medical works, and that most frequently encountered in the Latin MSS. of the Dark Ages, bears the title *Herbarium Apulei Platonici Madaurensis*. There is internal evidence that it was adapted or translated from the Greek. There is now external evidence also, for its form closely resembles the Johnson Papyrus (§ 14, p. 43). The *Herbarium* of Apuleius was illustrated from an early date and perhaps from the first. The figures of the earliest MSS. resemble those of the Johnson Papyrus. How the name of Apuleius came to be attached to it we do not know. It is certainly not by the author of the *Golden Ass*.

In investigating the relationship of the MSS. of the herbal of Apuleius, I have had much help from Professor Sudhoff of Leipzig, who has generously given me many photographs. Lately Professors Ernest Howald of Zürich and Henry Sigerist of Zürich and Leipzig have undertaken an edition of the text of the *Herbarium* of Apuleius. Professor Sigerist has kindly forwarded me proofs of the Preface and relevant pages of this edition. These have cleared my ideas

⁷² Vatican, Lat. 3868, and Paris, Lat. 7859, both of about A.D. 900. The Paris MS. can be examined in a readily accessible facsimile.

⁷³ H. Stadler, *Janus*, IV. 549, Leyden.

1889.

⁷⁴ Printed at Colle near Siena by Johannes de Medemblich. It is the only incunabula printed at Colle. Hain-Copinger 6258, Proctor 7241.

on the descent of the MSS., especially in the earlier period. The lineage of the Apuleius herbal and the relationship of its MSS. to those of the Latin Dioscorides is, however, still far from being completely unravelled.

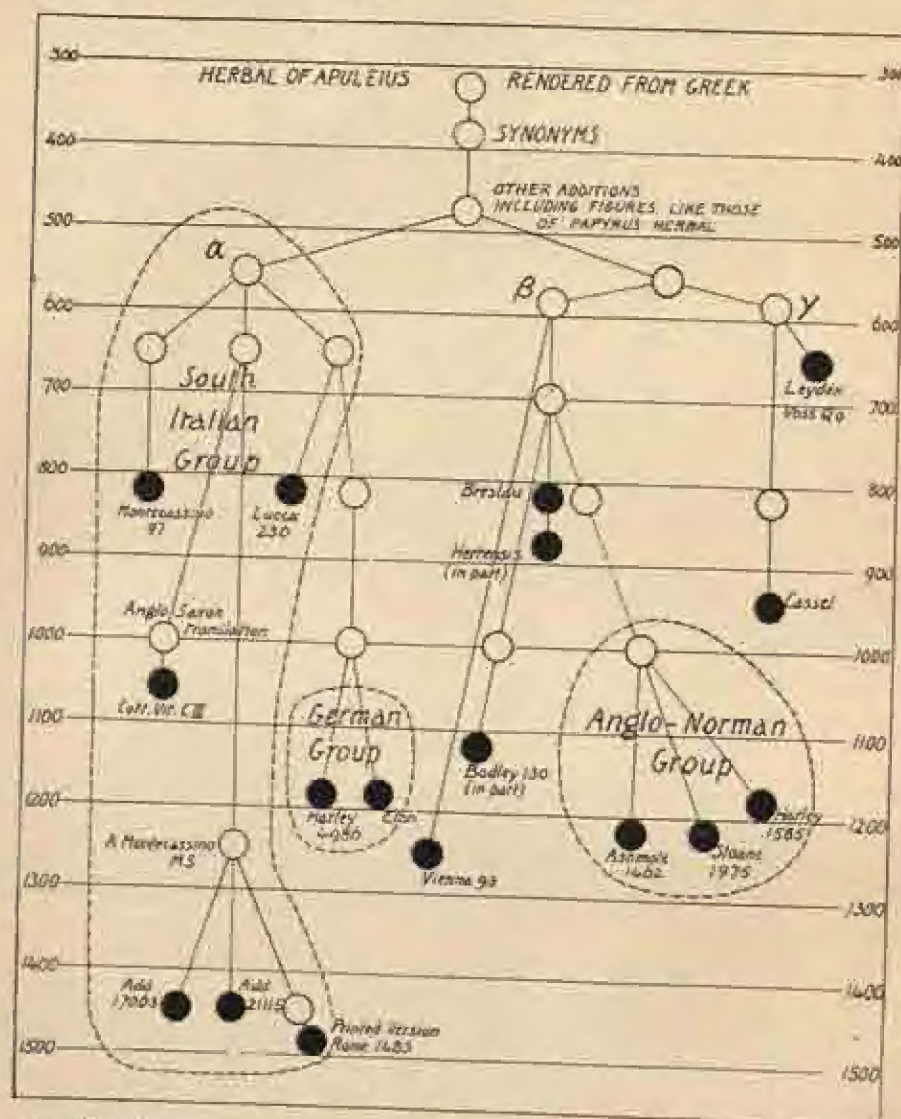


FIG. 33.—CHART SUGGESTING LINES OF DESCENT OF A FEW OF THE MORE IMPORTANT MSS. OF THE *Herbarium Apulei Platonicum*.
The black circles show existing MSS.

The herbal of Apuleius was probably first prepared from a Greek original in the fourth century. The Greek original is now lost, but must have closely resembled the Johnson Papyrus. Soon after, or perhaps at the time of translation, the herbal of Apuleius was combined with a list of synonyms

similar to that of Dioskurides. By the sixth century the original recension had divided into three archetypes distinguished by Howald and Sigerist as α , β and γ (Fig. 33).

Howald and Sigerist find that Class α yields the best text. It contains, however, neither the most ancient nor the most beautiful MSS. Fragments of this class are known of the seventh and eighth centuries. Of the ninth century we have two south Italian copies, one at Montecassino and another at Lucca. The Lucca MS. is of interest because its figures show some affinity to those of the Apuleian section of the great Anglo-Saxon codex (Cotton Vitellius C III). The Anglo-Saxon codex and its Lucca cousin are both gravely injured by fire. We have already drawn attention to the relationship of the Anglo-Saxon codex and Paris 6362 (p. 35).

We may pursue the story of the Anglo-Saxon version of Apuleius a little further. The Anglo-Saxon Apuleius is combined with an Anglo-Saxon version of the Latin Dioscorides. There is little doubt in my mind that both works were rendered into Anglo-Saxon at the same time and both from a South Italian original. As late as the fifteenth century, there existed at Montecassino a Latin MS. of Apuleius, the figures of which were very like those of the Anglo-Saxon version. This Montecassino MS. is now lost, but it was copied twice over, towards the end of the fifteenth century, and both copies are in the British Museum (Additional 17063 and Additional 21115). In both copies the figures are carefully drawn, and their close resemblance shows that the copying was faithful. A third sister of these two MSS. was the original of the *editio princeps* of the Apuleius herbal printed by Philip de Lignamine, which appeared at Rome about 1481. Thus it has come about that a work printed at Rome in the fifteenth century has figures which render it the nearest existing relative of an Anglo-Saxon MS. of the eleventh century (compare Figs. 34-37).

Archetype β is parent of the most numerous class. Textually this class is the most unsatisfactory. On the other hand, it contains the most gorgeously illuminated copies. Moreover, it is in this class that we find the earliest return to naturalism. Archetype β splits up very early into a number of lines, of which we shall follow only a few.

Of one line of β we have examples of the ninth century, with very crude drawings, of which the 'Hertensi' is a good specimen²⁴ (Figs. 38, 39). A somewhat isolated derivative of Archetype β is a Florentine MS. of the ninth century (Laur. Plut. 73. 41). The figures of this specimen are interesting to us as having preserved, better than most, a degree of resemblance to the line of Archetype γ (compare Figs. 41 and 40). Being thus of a primitive and undifferentiated type, we are not surprised that the figures of this MS. retain also some resemblance to those of the Greek tradition (Figs. 42, 43).

The line of Archetype β comes quite literally to flower at the beginning of the twelfth century, with a wonderful Oxford MS., Bodley 130, written at

²⁴ Described by K. Sudhoff, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, X, 226, Leipzig, 1917.



FIG. 34.—ADDITIONAL 21115. APULIUS.
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.



FIG. 35.—PIERPONT MORGAN
DUSKTHIDES.



FIG. 36.—PRINTED APULIUS.
ROME, c. 1481.



FIG. 37.—COTTON VITELLII, C. III.
FO. 57V. ABOUT 1050. ANGLO-SAXON.

Bury St. Edmunds.⁷⁶ Its imperfect text presents little of interest, and many of its cruder figures (Plate VII, Fig. *b*) resemble those of its relative, the Hertensis. But others of its illustrations are of importance, alike for the history



FIG. 38.—HERTENSIS. MANDRAKES.
NINTH CENTURY.

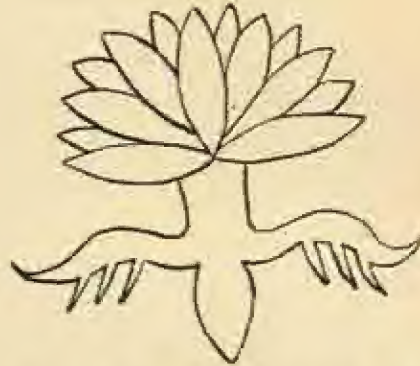


FIG. 39.—HERTENSIS. 'SYMPHYTUM.'



FIG. 40.—CASSEL APULEIUS. TENTH CENTURY.
'HELIOTROPIMUM.'



FIG. 41.—LAUR. PLUT. 73. 41. NINTH
CENTURY. FO. 67. 'HELIOTROPIMUM.'

of botany and for the history of art, and are convincing naturalistic studies. There are, for instance, exquisite paintings of a labiate, of one of the pea-family (*Orbuis*), and of a thistle (Plate VIII).

⁷⁶ Reproduced in facsimile for the Roxburgh Club by R. T. Gauthier, *The Herbal of Apuleius Barbarus, from the early twelfth-*

century Manuscript formerly in the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. The Roxburgh Club, Oxford, 1923.

What is the explanation of natural plant-drawings in a herbal at a period when representations of this type are unknown in other forms of art? The possibilities seem to be three. It might be that the naturalistic pictures of plants have been added to the manuscript at a much later date. Or it might be that these figures represent a school of art, other specimens of which have not yet come to light. Or, thirdly, it might be that they are the work of a plant-painter centuries ahead of his time.

An examination of Bodley 130 shows that the figures were drawn first and the text afterwards written around them. In a few cases the opposite order was followed. The illustrations are of substantially the same date as the text, and



FIG. 42.—PIERPONT MORGAN
DIOSCORIDES.



FIG. 43.—LAUR. PLUT. 73. 41. NINTH
CENTURY. FO. 69. MANDRAKE.

the first hypothesis can be dismissed.²⁴ The second hypothesis is also untenable, since some of the drawings are traditional (Plate VII, Fig. *b*), and can be traced in the known series. We thus accept the third hypothesis. Some monastic lover of plants at Bury St. Edmunds, early in the twelfth century, had set himself the task of preparing a herbal. He made good but rough naturalistic drawings, referring at times to the actual plants themselves. We can reconstruct his method. He had before him a herbal of the usual Apuleius-Dioscorides type. He began by identifying figures in his MS. with plants in the monastery garden. These he painted. Thus, for 'Viperina' (Plate VIII, Fig. *b*) he adopted the milk thistle *Cardus Marianus*, then a garden plant from Southern Europe, where it is common in waste places, and now a weed of escape in Britain. Similarly, for 'Camedrum' of the ancient herbal he took *Teucrium Chamaedrys* (Plate VIII, Fig. *c*), another South European

²⁴ I am glad to have this view confirmed in a private letter from Dr. M. R. James.

and West Asiatic form which, though now established in parts of this country, is unquestionably a garden escape. For 'Dracontia' he drew the southern *Dracunculus vulgaris* (Plate VII, Fig. a) and for Paeonia a non-British *Orobis* (Plate VIII, Fig. a). In general he preferred garden plants to wild forms. He depicted the plants as he found them, with little regard to the order of the MS. from which he took his text. Finally, being unable to identify some of the figures in his original, he copied them. This he did, for instance, with 'Solago minor' (Plate VII, Fig. b), linking, however, the wrong figure with the text. He did not finish his collection, but went on with the animals from the associated Sextus Placitus text. Of some of these he gives lively and vigorous figures in the Anglo-Saxon style (Plate VII, Figs. c and d) of the period. Unfortunately that style perished and naturalism in Art had to await the Renaissance.

A very vigorous and numerous branch of Archetype β is that which culminates in a group of splendidly illustrated manuscripts of Anglo-Norman workmanship, prepared at about the period when the twelfth century was passing into the thirteenth. In these the drawing is for the most part stiff and conventional, but the decoration is gorgeous. In technical execution they have no rival among herbal MSS. Of this group we place in the front rank an Oxford MS. (Ashmole 1462, Plate IX), and only a little behind it two others in the British Museum (Sloane 1975, Plate X. and Harley 1585). There are very numerous other descendants of Archetype β . A group written in Germany presents features similar to those of the Anglo-Norman MSS., and to it we have already referred in discussing the Latin MSS. of Dioscorides (p. 35). Another descendant of Archetype β is a thirteenth-century MS. at Vienna (93). It not only contains figures of plants but also very entertaining scenes illustrating the administration of drugs.⁷⁷

The descendants of Archetype γ present two matters of interest. The group contains the oldest MS., and their figures are nearest to those of our papyrus herbal. Of this class we need discuss only the Leyden (Voss Q. 9) of the seventh and the Cassel MS. of the tenth century. These are further discussed in § 14. The Leyden Apuleius is a fine half-uncial MS. of unknown provenance.⁷⁸ There are, however, certain spellings in it which I have observed elsewhere in Beneventan medical MSS. I therefore suspect that it, too, is of South Italian origin. The Cassel MS. is a near relation of the Leyden MS. It comes from the Rhineland, and was long at Fulda, where it may have been written.

§ 14. *The Leyden and Cassel Apuleius MSS. and the Johnson Papyrus compared.*—The two plants represented in the papyrus herbal can both be identified in the Leyden Apuleius.

In the Leyden Apuleius is figured a plant bearing the title SINEITOS and consisting, like the CYMOPYTON of our papyrus, of five broad leaves

⁷⁷ Described and figured by K. Sudhoff, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, X. 105, Leipzig, 1916.

⁷⁸ L. Traube, in his *Die lateinischen*

Handschriften in alter Capitalis und in Uncialia, does not give any locality for this MS. See his *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, Vol. I., Munich, 1909.

closely adherent. The plant in the Leyden Apuleius is rather less cabbage-like than in the Greek document, but in the allied Cassel MS. of the ninth century it is nearly as plump (Figs. 44 and 45).

Below the figure of *Sinfitos* in the Leyden Apuleius is a series of synonyms, followed by a description of the place of growth. Then come four lines giving the medical uses. This last section, in its shortness and simplicity,



FIG. 44.—LEYDEN, *Apuleius*, Fo. Q 9. SEVENTH CENTURY, 'SINFITOS.'



FIG. 45.—CASSEL, *Apuleius*, Fo. 14 v. 'SINFITOS.'

resembles the text of the Johnson Papyrus. The *sinfitos* text of the Leyden Apuleius contains the scribal errors usual in MSS. of the period. Its dog Latin text reads as follows:—

LVIII.	HERBA	SINFITOS
	ALII	CONFIRMAM
	ALII	CONSERBA
	ALII	PECTES
	ITALI	ARGALLICUM
	NASCITUR LOCIS PALUDIS ET CAMPIS	
	HERBAE CONFIRMAM PULVERE MOLLIS	
	SIMUL ET TRITUM PUTUI DABIS IN VINUM	
	MOX FLUVIUM RESTRINGET	

In most of the texts of Apuleius, other than those of the line of Archetype γ, our *Sinfitos* figures as *Confirma*, or as *Confirma major*, and the text associated with it runs:—'Herbae confirmae pulverem mollissime tritum potui dabis in vino, mox sanguinem restringit.'^{78a} We may note that our English plant name 'Comfrey' comes to us from the synonym 'Confirma.' The Comfrey is *Symphytum officinale* of botanists, and is certainly neither the *Symphytum* of the papyrus nor of the Leyden Apuleius.

We turn now to the *ΦΛΟΜΜΟC* of the papyrus. The form of the plant has no resemblance to the picture of *ΦΛΟΜΜΟC* in the Juliana Anicia. The Dioskuridean text gives, however, under the heading *ΦΛΟΜΜΟC*, two synonyms which enable us to trace our plant. These are *ΠΟΜΑΙΟΙ ΒΕΡΒΑΚΑΙΟΜ ΟΙΔΕ ΦΛΟΝΟΝ*.^{78b} We, therefore, turn to the *Verbascum* of the Leyden Apuleius and we find what we are seeking (Fig. 46).

The *ΦΛΟΜΜΟC* of our papyrus is represented in the Leyden Apuleius by its synonym of *Verbascum*. The figure in the Latin MS. (Fig. 46) is very stiff, but, as with *Sinfitos*, it bears a general resemblance to the Greek form. The Latin text associated with *Verbascum* in the Leyden Apuleius runs as follows (Fig. 46):—

LXXI. HERUA	UERBASCUM
A GRAECIS DICTUR	FLOGMON
PROFETAE	HERMURABDOS
AEGYPTI	NATAL
DACI	DISSATHIEL
ITALI UERBASCUM	DICUNT

The account of the uses of the herb follows. This contains, like other passages in the text of the Apuleian herbal, elements of pagan magic which ally it to the incantations that frequently accompany it. The account of the uses of the herb ran, in its original form (of which we have in Fig. 46 only the first two lines), as follows:—

'Hanc herbam dicitur Mercurius Ulyssi dedisse cum advenisset ad Circem, ut nulla mala facta ejus timeret. Adversus occursus malos. Herbae uerbasci virgulam qui secum portaverit, nullo metu terrebitur, neque occursus mali molestabunt eum.'²

The resemblances between the figures of the Greek papyrus and those of the Leyden Latin MS. are sufficiently close to reveal a common tradition. The likeness is much closer, in fact, than between many of the Latin herbals or between many of the Greek herbals, the common tradition of which can be proved. I have handled originals or photographs of most of the illustrated Greek manuscript herbals and of a large number of the Latin, and I have no doubt that a common tradition lies behind the Latin Leyden and Cassel codices and the Papyrus herbal.

^{78a} In most of the Apuleian herbal texts there is also a *Symphytum album*, which is different from the *Sinfitos* that we are here

discussing.

^{78b} The passage is unfortunately missing in the Juliana Anicia.



FIG. 46.—LEYDEN APULIUS, Fo. 168. SEVENTH CENTURY. 'VERBASCUM.'

When we turn from the Latin Apuleius MSS. to compare the Papyrus with the usual Greek herbal, we are met with a very different situation. The general arrangement of the Papyrus herbal is similar to that of the old Kratēus herbal. The drawing of the Papyrus, however, is stiff and formal, instead of naturalistic, as in the Kratēus herbal. The line of Greek herbals followed the Kratēus tradition, that of the Latin the tradition of the Johnson Papyrus. The stiff, formal tradition of plant presentation which existed in the fourth century among the Greeks had its future not in Greek but in Latin Europe, and is specially exhibited in the descendants of the herbal of pseudo-Apuleius.

§ 15. *The Associates of the Apuleius Herbal.*—During the Middle Ages the herbal of Apuleius was usually combined with certain other opuscles. Among these was, firstly, a little treatise *De herba vettonica* (i.e. betony), bearing the false ascription to Antonius Musa, the physician to Caesar Augustus; secondly an anonymous work, *De taxone*, on the use of the badger in medicine; and, thirdly, a nauseating concoction bearing the name of Sextus Placitus Papyriensis, whoever he may have been, and the title *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*. None of these greatly concerns us, but there are three other works with which the herbal of Apuleius is often combined which are of interest for us. The first is *Dioscorides vulgaris*, which we have discussed in detail (§ 12). The second is *Dioscorides de herbis femininis*. The third is a peculiar group of prayers or incantations.

Dioscorides de herbis femininis is a curious treatise consisting of a description of seventy-one herbs and their properties without the synonyms. It is drawn from the Latin Dioscorides, from pseudo-Apuleius and from Pliny. The earliest manuscript is of the ninth century,⁷⁹ but the work was put together no later than the sixth century, since Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) knew it. The *De herbis femininis* was probably concocted in Italy during the domination of the Goths (493–555).⁸⁰ Manuscripts of it are listed in confusion with the true Latin Dioscorides.⁸¹ It has been printed in modern times.⁸² The figures present many points of interest. Thus, for instance, some of them have affinities with those of the class *β* of the Apuleius MSS. (p. 39), others with the illustrations of the class *α* of the Apuleius MSS., the stock from which the Anglo-Saxon Apuleius was derived.⁸³ In some of the MSS. *Dioscorides vulgaris* and the *De herbis femininis* seem inextricably mixed.

Lastly, we have to consider the prayers or incantations associated with a number of Apuleian MSS., including the earliest of them all, that at Leyden. These prayers, by invoking the earth goddess, preserve something of the pagan atmosphere in which the herbal first took its rise. There are several examples of these incantations in MSS. in this country. The Latin text of these

⁷⁹ Raumb, *Bibliothec.*, 160.

⁸⁰ M. Wellmann, *Kratēus*, in *Abh. d. kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, Berlin, 1897.

⁸¹ Ten manuscripts of this work are recorded by H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*, Berlin, 1900, but there are many others in a more or less interpolated

state.

⁸² H. F. Kästner, *Pseudo-Dioscoridis de Herbis Femininis*, in *Hermes*, XXXI, p. 678, Berlin, 1896.

⁸³ Compare Laure, *Plut.* 73/41 of the eleventh century with the Cassel Apuleius and Paris 8862 of the tenth century and with the Anglo-Saxon Apuleius.

prayers has been published.⁵⁴ It may be convenient to have them in translation (rendered from Harley 1585).

'Earth, divine goddess, Mother Nature, who generatest all things and bringest forth anew the sun which thou hast given to the nations, Guardian of sky and sea and of all gods and powers; through thy power all nature falls silent and then sinks in sleep. And again thou bringest back the light and chasest away night, and yet again thou coverest us most securely with thy shades. Thou dost contain chaos infinite, yea, and winds and showers and storms; thou sendest them out when thou wilt and causest the seas to roar; thou chasest away the sun and arousest the storm. Again, when thou wilt thou sendest forth the joyous day and givest the nourishment of life with thy eternal surety; and when the soul departs, to thee we return. Thou indeed art called duly great Mother of the gods; thou conquerest by the divine name. Thou art the source of the strength of nations and of gods, without thee nothing can be brought to perfection or be born; thou art great, queen of the gods. Goddess! I adore thee as divine; I call upon thy name; be pleased to grant that which I ask thee, so shall I give thanks to thee, goddess, with due faith.

'Hear, I beseech thee, and be favourable to my prayer. Whatsoever herb thy power dost produce, give, I pray, with goodwill to all nations to save them and grant me this my medicine. Come to me with thy powers, and howsoever I may use them, may they have good success, and to whomsoever I may give them. Whatever thou dost grant, may it prosper. To thee all things return. Those who rightly receive these herbs from me, do thou make them whole, goddess, I beseech thee. I pray thee as a suppliant that by thy majesty thou grant this to me.

'Now I make intercession to you, all ye powers and herbs and to your majesty; ye whom earth, parent of all, hath produced and given as a medicine of health to all nations and hath put majesty upon you, be, I pray you, the greatest help to the human race. This I pray and beseech from you, be present here with your virtues, for she who created you hath herself promised that I may gather you with the goodwill of him on whom the art of medicine was bestowed, and grant, for health's sake, good medicine by grace of your powers.

'I pray, grant me through your virtue that whatsoever is wrought by men through you may have in all its powers a good and speedy effect, and good success, and that I may always be permitted with the favour of your majesty to gather you with my hands and to glean your fruits; so shall I give thanks to you in the name of that majesty which ordained your birth.'

§ 16. *Dioskurides in the Orient*.—We have spoken of the versions of Dioskurides in the Byzantine world and in the Latin West. His influence was, however, hardly less in the Arabic East. The text of his work was rendered into Arabic direct from the Greek, about the year 854, by Stephanos, son of Basilios, a Christian who lived at Baghdad under the Khalif Motawakkil. His work was perhaps revised by Joannitius⁵⁵ (809-873). In this translation

⁵⁴ A bibliography is given by Mr. A. D. Nock, *Folklore*, XXXVI, p. 93, London, 1925, in an article in which he corrects some

of the writer's errors.

⁵⁵ Sylvestre de Sacy, *Abd-Allatif Relation de l'Egypte*, pp. 495 and 549.

Stephanos translated the Greek plant names into Arabic when he could, but when his knowledge failed he left them in Greek in the hope that 'God would raise up someone who might translate them.'

This imperfect version by Stephanos was in general circulation in Arabic-speaking countries until 948. In that year the Byzantine Emperor Romanus II, son and co-regent of Constantine Porphyrogenitos, sent to the Spanish Khalif, Abd-Arrahman III, a finely illustrated Greek MS. of Dioskurides as a gift. At that time there was no one in Spain who knew Greek, and the Khalif therefore asked the Byzantine monarch to provide an interpreter. In 951 a learned monk, Nicolas, was sent who gave open instruction in Greek to many physicians at Cordova. It appears that Nicolas and his Arabic-speaking pupils set to work on the old translation of Stephanos, corrected it and adjusted its transliterated words, and produced something in the way of a new version.⁸⁴

About the middle of the thirteenth century, the Syrian scholar Bar Hebraeus prepared a translation into Syriac with illustrations. This also passed into Arabic. A number of illustrated Arabic MSS. of Dioskurides are known. How far the figures of these MSS. are based on those of the MS. on which Nicolas worked, how far on those of Bar Hebraeus, and how far they belong to the new tradition, is as yet unknown. The figures of many of the plants of the Greek Dioskurides, taken mostly from the Mediterranean littoral, would have been useless to the majority of Oriental readers. A certain number of new figures were prepared and further items added. A new tradition thus arose which continues to this day in the East, where the work of Dioskurides is still in current use.⁸⁵ The whole practice of medicine among Arabic-speaking peoples has been influenced by Dioskurides.

§ 17. *The Latter End of the Herbal in the Occident.*—We have traced the herbal from antiquity to the dawn of modern times. It is appropriate to terminate with a few words on the latter end of the herbal in Western Europe.

We have seen an early instance of naturalism in a herbal of the twelfth century (Bodley 130; see p. 39). The movement towards naturalism, however, did not set in with any force until the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. It then affected chiefly the newer texts, such as that of the *Circa Instans* (p. 37), of which several finely illustrated MSS. are known.⁸⁶ With the advent of printing, complex herbal compendia, derived from the old as well as the new sources, began to appear. Some of the textual material, as well as some of the illustrations of these works, were of the ancient traditional form, some were borrowed from such mediæval compilations as the *Circa Instans*, some were really new. A fine volume of this compound type was that

⁸⁴ E. H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, Königsberg, 1852-57, III. p. 136.

⁸⁵ On Dioskurides in the Orient see works by M. Steinschneider, 'Die griechischen Aerzte in arabischen Uebersetzungen'; Virchow's *Archiv für pathologische Anatomie usw.*, Vol. CXXIV. p. 480, Berlin, 1891; 'Die toxicologischen Schriften der Araber J.H.S.—VOL. XLVII.

his Ende des XII Jahrhunderts,' Virchow's *Archiv* LII. p. 353, Berlin, 1871, 'Heilmittelnamen der Araber,' a series of articles in the *Zeitschrift für Kunde der Morgenländer*, Vols. XI., XIII., Vienna, 1896-1900.

⁸⁶ G. Camus, *L'opera antichissima Circa Instans ed il testo primitivo del Gran Herbar en Francois*, Modena, 1886.

printed by Peter Schöffer at Mainz in 1485.⁸⁸ In the following century the full tide of the naturalistic movement set in. Old works were annotated and critically examined; new works were written; scientific botany was born. The history of the subject in the later fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries has been well traced by Dr. Arber and Dr. Klebs.⁸⁹ In the seventeenth century botany began to turn away from the herbal. The system that it represents passed into ever less competent hands. The herbal, however, did not altogether perish, and it lingers yet.

Scattered here and there among the meaner streets of our great cities are shops bearing over the window the word *Herbalist*. In these little dens of bygone superstition the artless folklorist sometimes seeks for remnants of early English folk belief. Such remnants are, in fact, surprisingly rare and few. If he enter in search of them the innocent inquirer will either be disappointed or, if satisfied, he will be deceived. The lore that the out-at-elbow practitioner purveys to him is not that of the ancient Anglo-Saxon, whose medical system was too debased or too primitive to survive. It is rather the misunderstood and misinterpreted remains of Pliny and Apuleius, of Dioskurides and Galen, perverted at fortieth hand. Our herbalist's methods are tinged too with Astrology. As like as not his whole library consists of one of the numerous descendants of Nicholas Culpepper's *English Physician Enlarged* of 1643. This poor, shabby and pretentious fellow, half deceived and half deceiver, is the descendant of Diokles of Athens and Krateuas of Pontus. Their lore has come to him through the ages in an unbroken though contaminated line.

§ 18. *Conclusions*.—The numbering of the *Conclusions* corresponds to that of the preceding §§.

(1) There were no Greek herbals earlier than the fourth century B.C.

(2) The earliest herbal we know of is that of Diokles, c. 350 B.C. The earliest herbal which survives is the 9th book of the *Historia plantarum* of Theophrastus. It is a collection from other herbals, and is not by Theophrastus. It is probably of Alexandrian date, say about 250 B.C.

(3) Of other Alexandrian herbals we have few records. None has survived. The work, however, of Nikander (c. 200 B.C.) has come down to us. We have rough figures of an illustrated copy of Nikander which goes back to a classical original.

(4) Krateuas (c. 75 B.C.) of Pontus was the first to prepare a herbal with illustrations drawn from the objects. He omitted the description of plants and fixed the form of the herbal. He is the father of botanical illustration.

(5) We can restore part of the herbal of Krateuas, both as to text and figures, from the Juliana Anicia Codex of A.D. 512, aided by hints from a new illustrated papyrus herbal of about A.D. 400.

⁸⁸ W. L. Schreyer, *Die Kräuterbücher des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, with a facsimile of Peter Schöffer's *Hortus Sanitatis* Deutsch (*Gart der Gesundheit*) of Mainz, 1485.

⁸⁹ A. Arber, *Herbals, their Origins and Evolution*, Cambridge, 1912; A. C. Klebs, 'Incunabula Librorum, Herbals,' in *Papers of*

the Bibliographical Society of America, XI. and XII, Chicago, 1918, and *Early Herbals*, Lugano, 1923; E. S. Schuch, *The Old English Herbals*, London, 1922, and C. Singer, 'Herbals,' in the *Edinburgh Review*, London, 1923.

(6) There were several Greek herbals written in the first century of the Christian era. Among them were those of Pamphilos of Rome, part of whose work *On Plants* survives; of Menecrates, physician to the Emperor Tiberius, who originated Diachylon plaster; of Andromachus, who invented a complex antidote or 'mithridate' that persisted into modern times; of Servilius Damocrates, of whose herbal we have considerable fragments, and of the army surgeon Dioskurides of Anazarba.

(7) The work of Dioskurides has survived entire. It is the most influential herbal ever written, but was based on earlier herbals. There are Dioskuridean names in modern botany and a number of Dioskuridean drugs in modern medicine.

(8) At an early date the text of Dioskurides was associated with plant pictures, some from Krateuas, some from other sources. It was associated also with a list of synonyms in various languages. The resulting combination was the main herbal in use in the Byzantine period. Many MSS. have survived, and their line can be traced down to modern times. The finest and earliest is the Juliana Anicia, with many figures in the Krateuan tradition. An important element in the Dioskuridean texts that have come down to us is the list of synonyms derived from languages, many of which are now unknown.

(9) Of Greek herbals after Dioskurides only the *De simplicibus* of Galen (c. A.D. 180) was of importance. Oribasios borrows from it for his *Synagoge* of about A.D. 400. The herbal works of Dioskurides, Galen and Oribasios were all early translated into Latin.

(10) There is a Greek illustrated papyrus herbal of about A.D. 400 which we designate the *Johnson Papyrus*. It has figures of 'Symphyton' and 'Phlomos.' It is important because—

(a) It is our earliest original of a herbal the general form of which is of the Krateuas and Apuleius type.

(b) Though in Greek, its drawings are of a different tradition to that of other Greek herbals and different from the drawings of Krateuas.

(c) Its two drawings are stiff and conventional and strongly resemble those of certain early Latin Apuleius herbals, with two of which they can be identified.

(d) Remnants of the tradition represented by the figures of the Papyrus herbal persisted to modern times among the Latins.

(11) The earliest native Latin herbals were saturated with Magic. Pliny's herbal (c. A.D. 60) is Greek material. We have also herbals written in Latin in the third and fourth centuries A.D.

(12) Dioskurides was translated into Latin in the sixth century. Two distinct versions are available, designated as *Dioscorides Lombardus* and *Dioscorides vulgaris*. The illustrations to *Lombardus* are peculiar. The *vulgaris* type includes nearly all of the vast number of MSS. Many of the illustrations of this main line were doubtless of the Krateuan tradition. The illustrations have become greatly modified in transit. An interesting branch of the Latin herbal is the Anglo-Saxon version made about A.D. 1000. *Dioscorides vulgaris* is usually associated with other texts, notably that of 'Apuleius.' The *vulgaris* carried over with it from the Greek the ancient synonym lists.

(13) The most important Latin herbal has the name of Apuleius attached to it. It early became associated with synonyms similar to those of Dioskurides. Two of these synonyms occur as titles in the Papyrus herbal. 'Apuleius' became associated with other material, notably with the Latin Dioscorides. The MSS. of Apuleius are exceedingly numerous. Their line can be traced into modern times. The Anglo-Saxon branch is again of peculiar interest. The earliest naturalistic plant-drawings are in a MS. of Apuleius-Dioscorides written in England (c. 1120). The tradition of the Apuleian illustrations can be traced continuously to the time of printing, and the first printed herbal has figures like those of an Anglo-Saxon herbal.

(14) In the earliest MS. of Apuleius (c. 650) are two figures that can be identified with those of the Johnson Papyrus (c. 400). The Apuleius and Papyrus herbals agree in general form. Apuleius is a translation of a Greek original similar to that of the Papyrus. Its illustrations have thus a different tradition from those of the Latin *Dioscorides vulgaris* or *Lombardus*.

(15) 'Apuleius,' *Dioscorides vulgaris*, *Dioscorides de herbis femininis*, are all constantly found associated and intermixed with certain other texts. Among these other texts is a set of pagan invocations to the earth goddess which recall the conditions under which the herbal first came into being.

(16) Dioskurides became popular in the Arabic East as it did in the Greek and Latin West. His work was translated into Arabic about 854 at Baghdad. In 951 a new Arabic version was prepared at Cordova. About 1250, a Syriac translation with illustrations was prepared and an Arabic version again from that. A number of Arabic MSS. of Dioskurides are known. The descent neither of the Arabic texts nor of the illustrations that accompany some of them has been traced, but the illustrations have no clear relationship to those of the classical line.

(17) The classical tradition persisted to the days of printing. It then became diluted with new material, but was not wholly destroyed. Modern herbalists still practise the ancient herbal lore. The story of the herbal can thus be told almost continuously from the fourth century B.C.²¹

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²¹ In addition to the acknowledgements made in the text, the author has to thank Messrs. Longmans, Miss E. S. Rohde and

the Provost of Eton for permission to reproduce Pl. V. and for the use of the clichés from which it is printed.

THE 'PROSKYNESIS' AND THE HELLENISTIC RULER CULT

WHEN a Persian came into the presence of the great king he greeted his lord by a form of salutation which the Greeks denoted by the verb *προσκύβειν* and the noun *προσκύνησις*. The verb, a compound of *κύβειν*, to kiss, means 'to send a kiss toward.' It is the word used to describe the commonest Greek act of devotion to a god—the custom of bringing the hand to the mouth and wafting a kiss toward the image of a god. This act, represented on a number of Attic vase paintings, was commonly performed by the Greeks and Romans when they passed the numerous images and shrines of the gods along their streets.¹ Under the guise of performing the *proskynesis* to Poseidon, Demosthenes is said to have deceived the emissaries of Antipater and to have brought the poison to his lips.² The idea of the kiss as a concrete sign of worship is originally strong in the word and usually persists in it, though sometimes the meaning seems to be little more than to worship. The use of the word to describe the Persian greeting indicates that the Greek saw in the salutation of the king a kind of cult kiss. By a custom familiar in the East from very ancient times until to-day, the subject threw himself on the ground to perform the salutation. His posture was usually described by the combination of *προσπίπτειν* with *προσκύβειν*, though sometimes the latter word alone seems to denote both the salutation and the act of prostration. The act was always in the Greek mind associated with the idea of worship. Greek envoys at the Persian court refused to perform the *proskynesis* because they thought that man was unworthy of honours that belonged to the gods,³ and Isocrates listed among the charges that he had to make against the Persians the fact that they went through the *proskynesis* before mortal men (*Paneg.* 151). Alexander's attempt to introduce the Persian *proskynesis* among his Greek and Macedonian subjects is in ancient sources regularly associated with his conception of the divine monarchy.

But scholars to-day seem to be agreed that the Greeks were wrong in their interpretation of the Persian *proskynesis*, and that Alexander's attempt to introduce the Persian ceremony is of no significance in the origin of the Hellenistic ruler cult.⁴ The obeisance of inferior before superior in the East was, they point out, by no means always accompanied by worship in ancient times, any more than it is in modern times. Moreover, the monumental inscriptions of the Achaemenidae give no hint of the ruler as a divine being.

¹ See the illustrations in Saglio's excellent article, *Adoratio* (the Latin equivalent of *proskynesis*), in Daremberg and Saglio. On the meaning of the word see Stephanius and compare Schnabel's discussion, *Klio*, xix. (1922-5), pp. 118 ff.

² Lucian, *Demosth. Encom.* 49.

³ Herod. vii. 136; cf. Xen. *Anab.* iii. 2. 13; Plut. *Artax.* 27; Nepos, *Canon* 3.

⁴ See Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, I⁴, pp. 293 ff.; Eduard Meyer, *Alexander der Grosse und die absolute Monarchie, Kleine Schriften*, I⁴, pp. 283 ff.; Beyer, *v. v. Deification*, Hastings, *E.R.E.*

and no suggestion that his royal ancestors were worshipped.⁵ The records are rather a glorification of the power of Auramazda, the mighty god of the Aryana. To him with the faith of a zealous believer the king attributes his kingdom, his power, all his conquests. 'By the grace of Auramazda am I king. . . . Auramazda hath granted me this empire,' says Darius in the inscription on the great rock at Behistun. Over the king on Persian royal monuments is a representation which the Persians borrowed from their Assyrian neighbours. It is a half-human figure, ending at the waist in the sun-ring and horizontal wings that are familiar on Egyptian and Hittite royal monuments.⁶ The upper part of the figure is an exact reproduction in features and costume of the king below. Modern scholars see in the representation the god Auramazda. The Persian ruler, they declare, though possessing all the loftiness that characterised the Oriental monarch, was, like the Hebrew, Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian kings, not himself divine, but was the shepherd or steward of an all-powerful god.⁷

But the discoveries of the past half-century have taught us a wholesome respect for what the Greeks knew of the ancient East. In the light of many a suspected tradition that has been verified we may well ask whether men like Herodotus and Xenophon, with their opportunities for understanding Persian religious ideas, could have so completely misunderstood the act which they termed the *proskynesis*. In themselves their reports deserve more consideration than they have received in recent years. Moreover, there are some specific references to Persian religious practice which seem to indicate that the king was really an object of worship.

In the passage in the *Panegyricus* already referred to Isocrates speaks of the Persians as *θυγῆτόν μὲν ἄνδρα προσκυνοῦντες καὶ τὸν δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες*. Who was the δαίμων whom they saluted? The answer is, I think, given by the remark of a Persian noble at a banquet described in Plutarch's life of Artaxerxes (15): *πίνωμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ ἐσθίσωμεν, τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα προσκυνοῦντες*. The Persian custom which the remark attests is probably genuine, for Plutarch in the first part of the *Artaxerxes* has his chief source in Ktesias, who passed the early years of the king's reign as physician at the Persian court.⁸ The king, true to the Persian custom which regarded him as too lofty to dine with his nobles, was not present at the banquet. Yet the guests went through a *proskynesis*, apparently before an image of the king. This must have represented the δαίμων whom men saluted in the custom alluded to by Isocrates.

The practice of honouring the king's δαίμων at banquets is also attested by a story which Athenaeus quotes from Theopompus's *Philippica*. The historian is speaking of the efforts which Nicostratus of Argos made to curry

⁵ Weisbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (1911).

⁶ On the origin of the type see Eduard Meyer's important discussion, *Reich und Kultur der Chetier*, (1914), pp. 29-36.

⁷ See Meyer, *Kleinere Schriften* and Kaerst, *l.c.*

⁸ See Plutarch's comments, *Artaxerxes*, I, 6, 11. Though Plutarch usually doubts Ktesias's reliability, he has confidence in him in the *Artaxerxes* because of his special opportunities for securing direct knowledge. See Jacoby, *s.v.* Ktesias, Pausanias-Wissowa.

favour with Artaxerxes III, Ochus, King of Persia from 357 to 337: *ἔπειτα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ὅποτε μέλλοι δειπνεῖν, τράπεζαν παρετίθει χωρίς, ὀνομίζων τῷ δαίμονι τῷ βασιλέως, ἐμπλήσας αἴτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ἀκούων μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν Περσίων τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας διατρίβοντας, οἰόμενος δὲ διὰ τῆς θεραπείας ταύτης χρηματίζεισθαι μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.*⁹ Theopompus is writing here of events within his own lifetime,¹⁰ and there seems to be no reason to doubt his statement that the Persians about the king's gates prepared a separate table for the king's *δαίμων* at their feasts.¹¹

To this evidence for the cult of the *δαίμων* of the living king we may add the testimony for the worship which the Persians gave to their dead kings at the royal tombs of the Achaemenidae at Pasargadae. Regular sacrifices, Appian tells us, were made at the tombs, in the course of which a meal consisting of bread and meat was distributed to all those present.¹² The greatest honour, as we learn from another account, was given to Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire. His tomb was an imposing structure which lay in a well-watered grove, luxuriant with trees and verdure. The magi who dwelt as guards at the tomb made daily offerings of wine and meal and a sheep to the king; once a month they sacrificed a horse to him. The victims and the offerings were supplied by the reigning king. The report of the cult seems trustworthy, for Arrian quotes it from Aristobulus, who was appointed by Alexander to restore the plundered tomb to its former state.¹³

The evidence for the worship of the *δαίμων* of the reigning king and for a hero cult of the dead kings is, moreover, in accord with Persian religious conceptions as we find them in the sacred books of the religion of Zoroaster, the

⁹ Athenaeus, vi, p. 232. *F.H.G.* i, p. 301.

¹⁰ Theopompus was born in 376. He published the *Philippica*, from which this citation comes, after 324. For the evidence see Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, i. (6th ed.), pp. 531 ff.

¹¹ In connection with the worship of the king's *daimon* the evidence for the celebration of the Persian king's birthday may be important. Cf. Plato, *Alcibiades*, i. 121 C. *ἐπεὶ δὲ δὲ γέννηται ὁ παῖς ὁ πρῶτος, ὅσπερ ἡ ἀρχὴ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐορτάζουσι πάντες αἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, αἱ δὲ ἀρχαί, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων χρόνον ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι πᾶσι θύει καὶ ἐορτάζει ἡ Ἀσία.* In Greek and Roman belief the birthday was the day when the *daimon* was strongest. See Schmidt, *Gebursttag im Altertum*, R.G.V.F. vii. But public celebrations of rulers' birthdays are too commonly attested to justify one in drawing any definite conclusions from this evidence. Similarly inconclusive is the reference to the *daimon* in the address of the chorus to Atossa in the *Persae*, though the passage is an excellent indication that the Greeks believed that the

Persians worshipped their rulers. Cf. Aeschylus, *Persae*, 157-8:

θεοῦ μὲν εὐνέστερα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μῆτρος
ἔσται,
εἰ τι μὲ δαίμων παλαῖα νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῷ.

¹² Appian, *Mithridates*, 66. In the description of the king's *πάρος* *θεοῦ* to Ζεὺς *στράτιος* we find these words: *εἰσὶν τε καὶ ὅμοι ἐς ἑαυτῶν τοῖς παροῖσι ἐκτεθέσται, αἷον τι καὶ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι θυσίας γένος.*

¹³ Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 29, where Aristobulus seems to be the source of the whole account. After the description of the monument and of the chamber containing the king's body comes the following account of the cult at the tomb: *αἷον δὲ ἐντός τοι περιβόλου πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ ἐντὶ τοῖς τάφοις ἀρσένου ὀλεγμα σμικροῦ τοῖς Μάγοις πεποιημένου, οἱ δὲ ἐφύλασσον τὸν Κέρου τάφον ἐν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καμβύσου τοῦ Κέρου, ποτε παρὰ πατρός ἐνδεχόμενος τῇ φύλασιν καὶ ταύτας πρόβατον τε ἐς ἡμέρας ἰδίδοτο ἐκ βασιλείας καὶ Δαίμονα τε καὶ αἷον τετραγμῆνα καὶ ἱερός κατὰ μῆνα ἐς θυσίας εἰς Κέρου.*

Avesta.¹⁴ In the later portions of the *Avesta*—not in the psalms known as Gathas, which alone seem to go back to Zoroaster—we hear frequently of the *fravashis*, immortal doubles of the soul, which exist for every man before his birth, during his lifetime, and after his death. They are divinities that resemble the Greek *δαίμονες* and the Roman Genii, but their scope is far wider.¹⁵ They really correspond to the combination *ἥρωες* and *δαίμονες*, Lares and Genii. In the Yasna, one of the later sections of the *Avesta*, we hear of a sacrifice 'to all the *fravashis* of the saints, those who are dead, those who are now alive, those who are still to be born.'¹⁶ Though the *fravashis* of the dead, particularly of Zoroaster and the saints of the Zoroastrian hierarchy, predominate in the cult, the *fravashis* of the living constantly come in for a share in the offerings. Among these would naturally be the *fravashi* of the living king.¹⁷ Scholars among the Parsis of India, modern adherents of Zoroastrianism, among whom the belief in the *fravashi* still persists, see in the figure over the king on Persian monuments not the god Auramazda but the king's *fravashi*.¹⁸ Such an interpretation would seem to accord with the use of the figure on Egyptian monuments and on Hittite hieroglyphs representing the name of the king¹⁹; it would also be in harmony with Herodotus's statement (i. 131) that the Persians made no images of their gods.

Now though the *fravashis* are not mentioned in the oldest part of the *Avesta*, the conception goes back to old Iranian religious ideas that must have been fully developed in the time of the Achaemenidae. On that point students of Persian religion seem to be agreed,²⁰ however much they may differ on the

¹⁴ Le Zend-Avesta, translation of Darmesteter in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1892-4. See Jackson, *s.v.* *Avesta*, *E.R.E.* On Persian religion see Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zoroastro nella storia religiosa dell'Iran* (1920); Huart, *La Perse Antique* (1926), pp. 96-103; G. B. Gray, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV. (1926), pp. 203 ff.

¹⁵ They are suggestive in explaining many of the puzzling problems of Greek and Roman cult; for example, the ancient identification of Lar and Genius and the use of Genius and more often of the Greek *υἱαὸς δαίμων* for the dead as well as the living.

¹⁶ See Darmesteter, *op. cit.* i. 188. In the *Avesta*, Yasna 26 and Yasht 13 are devoted to the *fravashis*.

¹⁷ The *fravashi* of the king Vishtaspa who shielded Zoroaster (identified by some with the father of Darius, but probably belonging to a much earlier period) is frequently mentioned. The names of the Achaemenidae do not occur at all in the *Avesta*. On the *fravashis* see the following articles in Hastings: *Fravashi*, by Moulton; *Ancestor Worship, Iranian*, by Lehmann; *Zoroastrianism*, by Carnoy. See also Moul-

ton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London (1912), Lecture VIII; Söderblom, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xxxix. (1899), pp. 229 ff., 373 ff.; Clemens, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über persische Religion in R.G.V.F.* xvii (1920), index, *s.v.* *fravashi*.

¹⁸ See Jackson, *s.v.* *Art, Persian*, in Hastings. As Söderblom notes, *op. cit.*, p. 409, these figures correspond to the light and airy nature of the *fravashis* as described in the *Avesta*. See, however, the evidence he cites for inscriptions beside two figures of this type which have been thought to preserve a form of the name Auramazda.

¹⁹ See Eduard Meyer's discussion of the type, *Reich und Kultur der Chetier*, pp. 29-36. Is it possible that the figure on Assyrian royal monuments is also not the god Assur but the king's double? After all, the belief in spirits is universal, and a form of ruler cult that makes use of it is not impossible even under the jurisdiction of the jealous gods that characterized the local monotheism of the Semitic peoples.

²⁰ I have had the good fortune to be able to discuss with Professor Franz Cumont this point and several others connected with Persian religion.

question of Zoroaster's attitude toward the *fravashis* and on the relation of the Achaemenidae toward Zoroastrianism.²¹ In the Greek reports of the cult of Persian kings, both living and dead, we may recognise the Persian *fravashi*.²² We have then a well-authenticated Persian ruler cult.

The form of the cult is interesting. For the dead king it is much like the hero cult which the Greek cities gave to their founders and benefactors. For the living king the worship was offered not to the king himself as a god in person but to his immortal double. As such it resembles the cult of the Ka of the Egyptian king and of the Genius of the Roman emperor. The Roman emperor, as Augustus organised his worship, had no recognised cult for Roman citizens except the worship of his Genius. The Persian cult, if one may conclude from our inadequate knowledge of it, may have been similarly limited. With the cult of the emperor's Genius it has one striking resemblance in form — the custom of honouring the ruler's double at banquets. Moreover, there seem to be parallels with the Hellenistic ruler cult too. It has lately been suggested that the cult of the living man that developed in Greece in the fourth century and culminated in the worship of the Hellenistic king was really the cult of the *daimon*.²³ Striking support for the suggestion is provided by two recently published Ptolemaic papyri in which the king's *daimon* is called upon in oaths in much the same way that the Genius of the Roman emperor was invoked.²⁴ In the light of this evidence the worship of the double of the Persian king deserves consideration in connexion with the Hellenistic ruler cult.

Certainly Alexander's attempt to introduce the Persian *proskynesis* can no longer be dissociated from his plans to establish his own divinity, for the *proskynesis*, as we have already seen, really did carry with it the idea of worship. A consideration of the way Alexander went about it reveals some fresh relations with Persian religious customs. There are two traditions as to what happened. The more generally accepted, given by Arrian (iv, 12) and by Curtius Rufus (viii, 5), relates that at a banquet where the deeds of the king were praised as far in excess of the deeds of the demi-gods, Herakles and Dionysos, one of the company made the proposal, already agreed upon with the king, that all present should follow him in prostrating themselves before the king as a sign

²¹ Against the belief that the Achaemenidae were Zoroastrians see Petazzoni, *op. cit.*, ch. iv.; in favour of their Zoroastrian connections see Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, II, (1921), pp. 58 ff.

²² Practically all the evidence that has been cited for the cult of the Persian kings is found in the admirable articles of Rapp, *Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen*, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xix, (1865), pp. 1-80, especially pp. 68-9; xl, (1866), pp. 49-140. See also Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*,² p. 94.

²³ Pfister, *D.L.Z.* 1909, col. 1486 ff. See

the same writer's *Religionskult im Altertum*, *R.G.V.F.*, v, passim, and his article *Kultus*, *Pauly-Wissowa*, esp. col. 2125 ff.

²⁴ *Papiri della Società Italiana*, iv, 361 (dated under Ptolemy Philadelphus, 251-0 B.C.): [δυσ]δυσ σοι τὸν βασιλέα δαίμονα καὶ τὸν Ἀγαθόν. The oath is a private one and does not correspond to the official form. It is therefore all the more important as an indication of popular belief that it was by the king's *daimon* that men swore. See also *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, v, 1264, 10 (quoted by Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyriurkunden*, s.v. δαίμων): [ἐπαρκῆσαι μὲν μοι ἐὼς αἴψ] καὶ ὁ δαίμων τοῦ βασιλέως διατρέχον.

of his godhead; Callisthenes, in a speech that showed that godhead was not for living men, opposed the proposal, and, since many of the Macedonians quite evidently agreed with him, it was abandoned. The other story is given by Arrian as a second version of what happened, and by Plutarch (*Alex.* 54) as the only account of the *proskynesis*. Plutarch names as his source Chares of Mitylene, who was presumably an eye-witness at the scene. According to this account, actually better attested than the other,²⁵ Alexander took a cup, drank from it, and passed it to one of his friends. Following an agreement already made with the king, the friend drank from the cup, performed the *proskynesis*, and then kissed Alexander. Everybody did the same thing until it was Callisthenes's turn. He took the cup and drank without performing the *proskynesis*, and then tried to kiss Alexander, who had not noticed his omission of the act of devotion. But one of the guests called the king's attention to it, and so Alexander refused Callisthenes's kiss.

The first part of Plutarch's account has not until recently been understood. The passage reads as follows: Χάρης δὲ ὁ Μυτιληναῖός φησι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πίνοντα φάλην προτείνειν τινὶ τῶν φίλων τὸν δὲ δεξάμενον πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστήναι καὶ πᾶντα προσκυνῆσαι πρῶτον, εἰτα φιλεῖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ κατακλιθῆναι.

Since it has been assumed in advance that the *proskynesis* was an act that took place before Alexander himself, the words πρὸς ἐστίαν have been felt to be obscure, and the phrase ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, where it occurs the second time, has been bracketed as a gloss. But, as Dr. Paul Schnabel has shown in an illuminating article,²⁶ the two phrases quite obviously balance each other. In the light of Schnabel's interpretation, the passage may then be rendered as follows: 'Chares of Mitylene tells us that Alexander, reclining on the banquet couch, drank from a cup and handed it to one of his friends. He, on taking it, stood up and faced the altar of the household gods, and, having drunk, first performed the *proskynesis*; then he kissed Alexander at the banquet couch and lay down again.'²⁷

Πίνωμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ ἐσθίωμεν, τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα προσκυνούμετες. These words, already quoted from the *Artaxerxes* of Plutarch, explain the scene. The *proskynesis* that Chares describes was not an obeisance before Alexander himself. Yet, as the *os* shows, it was an act of worship to Alexander, which took place before the altar of the household gods. It represented the sending of a cult kiss toward the statue of the king on the altar. It was an adaptation of a regular Persian banquet custom of honouring the king's *daimon*, one form of the Persian *proskynesis*.

²⁵ It is cited by Eduard Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 326, as the most reliable account of the *proskynesis*. (Cf. also Jacoby, s.v. *Kallisthenes*; Pauly-Wissowa.)

²⁶ Schnabel, *Die Begründung des hellenistischen Königtums durch Alexander*, *Klio*, xix. (1923-5), pp. 113-127.

²⁷ Birt, *Alexander der Grosse und das Weltgriechentum* (1924), pp. 491-493, and Berve, *Klio*, xx. pp. 179-186, have both

attacked Schnabel's interpretation. Neither scholar has provided any real explanation for the phrases πρὸς ἐστίαν and ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ. Berve's attempt to prove that Arrian's account of the second version of the *proskynesis* is nearer to Chares's original than Plutarch's is not convincing. See Schnabel's reply to Berve's article, *Klio*, xx. pp. 398-414.

Yet the scene is not entirely Persian. Alexander did not, as Persian custom would have required, dine alone separated by a curtain from his courtiers. He was present, and, true to the intimate relation between king and nobles that prevailed in the Macedonian court, he kissed every member of the company after the toast was drunk. Moreover, the toast itself has no correspondence, as far as we know, in the Persian honours to the *daimon*. It is, on the other hand, decidedly Greek in form. Schnabel compared it to the libation of *merum* that it was customary to pour to the emperor's genius at Roman banquets. He might also have compared the toast and libation of *ἀγαθόν* that was regularly offered to *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* at the Greek banquet. After the dinner proper was over and before the drinking began, it was customary for the guests to pour a libation and drink, usually all from the same cup, a swallow of unmixed wine to the god.²⁸ As we learn from a fragment of Theophrastus, they even accompanied the ceremony by a *proskynesis* to the god, performed, presumably, before a statuette or image of *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*.²⁹ Now *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* in Hellenistic household cult has the place that the Genius had in Roman private worship.³⁰ His image belonged with the gods of the

²⁸ The toast is most frequently mentioned in Old Comedy. See Aristophanes, *Knights*, 85; *Peace*, 300; *Wasps*, 525, and the scholia on the passages; Zenarchos, frag. 2 in Kach, *C.A.F.* ii. p. 468. Cf. also Diogenes, iv. 3, 4; Philochorus, ap. Athen. ii. 38 c; Suidas, s.v. *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*. Further references will be found in A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. p. 1129. Two fragments of a red-figured cup have on them figures occupied with libations. Besides one figure is the inscription [α]ἶμα τῷ δαίμονι τῷ ἀγαθῷ; out of the mouth of the other, a man about to pour a libation, come the words Ζεῦ πάτερ. This is evidently a representation of the other common libation at banquets, that of diluted wine to Zeus Soter. See Benndorf, *Griechische und etruskische Faunbilder*, Pl. 29 and p. 49. For discussions of the toast to *agathos daimon* see Kroll, *Die sacrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum*, *R.G.V.F.* ix. pp. 24 ff.; Ganselünitz, s.v. *agathos daimon*, Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. III. Writers on the toast of *agathos daimon* have failed curiously to realise its analogous character to the toast to the Genius. The failure has been due chiefly to insistence on the chthonic character of *agathos daimon*. But as 'the mask or functional form which each individual here is compelled to wear' (Harrison, *Themis*, p. 277), *agathos daimon*, like the Persian *fravashi*, is applied to the living and the dead alike.

²⁹ Theophrastus, ap. Athen. xv. 693. τὴν ἱεράν, φησὶ, οἶνον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ δεύρῳ δαίμονι,

δε δὲ λέγουσι ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα εἶναι πρόπαν, ὅλον τε προσφέρουσι, ὥστερ ἀναιμνήσκοντες μόνον τῷ γένει τῷ λοχίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δαίσει, καὶ μετὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν διδόναι, ὅπως ἐλάττωσιν ἢ τὸ πῶμα καὶ τὸν προσηνέοντα λαμβάνουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραπέζης, ὥστερ ἱερεῖς ἐν τοῖς ποιεῖσιν τοῦ θεοῦ μηδὲν ἀσχεμαίειν μηδ' ἔχει λοχίους ἐκπιπῆναι τοῦ πότου τούτου καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ καλά καὶ χρήσιμα.

³⁰ The personal *daimon*, long known in Greek conceptions, tends in early Hellenistic times to be thought of as good. The trend of the times is clear from some much-quoted lines of Menander (frag. 350-1). See the very probable combination of the fragments in Allinson, *Menander*, Loeb. Series, pp. 490-1. It is possible that the identification of Alexander with *agathos daimon* had its effect in bringing about the change. In any case we find *agathos daimon* prominent in Hellenistic household cult. He appears frequently in the private inscriptions of Thera (Hiller von Oertrungen, *Thera*, iv. p. 174); in Delos he is represented in household shrines much as the Genius is at Pompeii. Cf. Bulard, *Monuments Piot*, xiv. (1908), pp. 18 ff. In an inscription, probably of the third century B.C. from Halicarnassus (Dittenberger, *Syllog.*, 1044) a certain Poseidonius makes provision for sacrifices by his household to the *agathos daimon* of himself and his wife. Compare the colleges of *ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα* mentioned in the inscriptions of Rhodes and other places. The whole subject of Greek household cult needs careful investigation.

hearth. With him must have been identified the statue of Alexander toward which (*πρὸς εἰσίαν*) the *proskynesis* was performed.

Undoubted evidence for the identification of Alexander and *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* is provided by another story of Callisthenes's relations with Alexander, an incident for which again Chares was one of the sponsors (*Athen.* x, 434d): *Καλλισθένης δὲ ὁ σοφιστής, ὡς Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιος φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι καὶ Ἀριστοβούλος καὶ Χάρης ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις, ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς τοῦ ἀκράτου κύλικος εἰς αὐτὸν ἑλθούσης, ὡς διωθείτο, εἰπόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ, διὰ τί οὐ πίνεις; οὐδὲν δέομαι, ἔφη, Ἀλεξάνδρου πινὼν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι.*

Obviously the cup of *ἀκράτου* from which all drank is the toast to *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*. Plutarch, in a reference to this same scene, calls it *κύλιξ λεγομένη Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλη*.³¹ It is impossible to escape the conclusion that Alexander and *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* were identical. Hence Callisthenes's famous remark: 'I do not wish in drinking of Alexander to have need of Asclepius.' The unmixed wine was Alexander as *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*, and Callisthenes was consistent in his opposition to the identification.³²

Thus Chares's report of the way Alexander brought in the *proskynesis* becomes still more worthy of credence. It gives us another example of the union of Greek and Persian elements that was the keynote of Alexander's policy at this time.³³ The other account may also have in it an element of truth; that is, Alexander may, in his process of adopting Persian customs, have wished to introduce among his Greek and Macedonian subjects the form of the *proskynesis* with the prostration. Such an attempt, fundamentally at variance with Greek conceptions, was doomed to failure. But the salutation of the king's *daimon* was in accord with Greek religious ideas and was capable of being adapted to Greek banquet customs which had perhaps come down from Indo-European traditions that the Greeks shared with the Persians. In introducing it Alexander was successful. The scene, as the second incident related about Callisthenes shows, must have become a regular feature of banquets in Alexander's camp. As we know from a reference to a toast of *ἀκράτου*, offered to Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoë, the ceremony went down to the Hellenistic kings,³⁴ and from them, in the form of a libation, but

³¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 623 F-624 A: *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Καλλισθένης ἐν διαβολῇ γενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δυσχεραίνειν βεβαιεῖν διὰ τὸν αἶνον, ἐπὶ καὶ αἷμα λεγομένην Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλην ἔθουσαι ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀπώσαντο, φησὶν οὐκ εἶδεν Ἀλεξάνδρου πινὼν Ἀσκληπιὸν δεῖσθαι.* Cf. Plutarch, *De cohibenda ira*, 454 E: . . . ὁ Καλλισθένης αἶμα τῆς μεγάλης κύλικος περιβαρύνει, οὐ βούλομαι πινὼν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀσκληπιὸν δεῖσθαι. The use of *πινὼν* with the genitive, the regular case for the drink taken, indicates that Alexander and the drink were identical. The ceremony seems to be a form of communion service.

³² I am inclined to agree with Schnabel that wounded vanity, rather than real opposition to Alexander's divinity, which he had hitherto furthered, explains the

attitude of Callisthenes.

³³ The event is said to have taken place early in 327, just after Alexander's marriage with Roxane.

³⁴ Alexis, frag. 244. Koch, *C.A.F.* ii, p. 380.

*ἐν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἑτήρῳ
χρηθεῖ ἀκράτου τῆς τ' ἀδελφῆς προσλαβὼν
τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ταύτης ἀπενεστὴ τ' ἐκταῖον
ὡς δὲ τις ἦδιστ' ἴσεν ἰσὺν ἰσὺν κεκραμένον,
καὶ τῆς ὁμορφίας, διὰ τί τῷ μὴ κεράσει
δινεὶ λυγρῶς πρὶν τὸ τελευτᾶν φῶς.*

If the toast seems too abundant to represent the swallow usually taken for *agathos daimon*, I would refer to Xenarchos, frag. 2, Koch, *C.A.F.* ii, p. 465.

not a toast,³⁵ was passed on to the Roman emperors.³⁶ In the honours accorded to rulers at banquets there is a direct line of development from Persian kings to Roman emperors.

Ancient sources are undoubtedly right in associating the *proskynesis* with Alexander's divine monarchy. Possibly it is too much to call it, as Schnabel does, 'die feierliche Inszenierung des hellenistischen Königs Kultes.' After all there would have been men to point out, as Callisthenes does in Curtius's account, that gods were not made at banquets. But the new ceremony undoubtedly produced a profound impression. It prepared the way for the formal dedication that came to Alexander from the Greek cities in answer to his demand not long before his death. Significantly enough it was as Dionysos, the god with whom the good *daimon* honoured at banquets was identified, the deity of unmixed wine, that the Athenians vouched for his godhead,³⁷ and it is as Dionysos too that the king lived in story in the East. The incident of the *proskynesis* undoubtedly marked an epoch, pointing the way for the union of Greek and Persian elements in the divinity of the king.

I hope at another time³⁸ to discuss the bearing of this evidence on the worship offered to Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors. Here I have limited myself as far as possible to questions associated with the union of Greek and Persian elements in the worship. Even on those questions I have not attempted to be exhaustive. For instance, the effect of the Persian conception of *Heavenō* on the Hellenistic idea of Tyche, the divinity who constantly appears with *agathos daimon* in the ruler cult, has not been considered at all.³⁹ The first purpose of my paper has been to show that in the use of the word *proskynesis* for the salutation of the Persian king there was a genuine cult significance; that indeed the Persians, contrary to the general opinion

³⁵ Besides the toast of unmixed wine to *agathos daimon* there was regularly at the Greek banquet a libation of diluted wine to Zeus Soter, another god prominent in household cult. See note ²⁹ above. The Athenians at Lemnos named this libation Seleucena Soter, thus indicating the identification of Seleucus with Zeus Soter. Cf. Phylarchos, ap. Athen. vi. 254. The passage is cited by Schnabel, p. 120, but without full appreciation of its significance. See, however, Bevan, *J.H.S.* xi. (1906), pp. 27-8.

³⁶ It is found too in the household cult where unmixed wine is the regular libation to the Master's Genius. There was also a ceremony at Trimalchio's banquet which recalls the cult kiss. Three statues representing the two Lares and the Genius of the master were brought in, and the guests were expected to kiss the statue of Trimalchio's Genius. Cf. Petron, *Satyr.* 61: non etiam veram imaginem ipsius Trimalchionis cum iam omnes basiliant erubimus praeterire. The passage pro-

vides a good parallel for the scene at Alexander's banquet in that a man's genius received honours in the man's presence. Moreover, the way in which the small statues of Lares and Genius were brought in shows how the difficulty (mentioned by Berve, *l.c.*) of supposing the altar of the household gods to be in the *triclinium* may be met. The altar and its statuettes were probably portable.

³⁷ Diog. Laert. vi. 3, 63: φιλοκυβερνῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀδελφότητι δίδωσεν, καὶ, ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ ποσὶν.

³⁸ In a forthcoming paper in *Classical Philology* I shall try to show the close relation between the cult of Alexander at Alexandria and the temple of *agathos daimon*, the tutelary divinity of the city. I shall discuss more fully the general bearing of the question in a book on the origin of the Roman imperial cult on which I am at present engaged.

³⁹ See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mythes de Mithra*, i. pp. 295 ff.

of modern scholars, had a well-developed ruler cult, the worship of the king's *fravashi*, his divine double. It has further been my aim to show, with the aid of Schnabel's interpretation of Plutarch, that the more reliable tradition of the *proskynesis* described the institution of a regular toast to the king that accorded both with the Persian custom of honouring the *fravashi* of the ruler and with the familiar Greek toast to *agathos daimon*, identified in this case with the personal *daimon* of Alexander. This form of the *proskynesis* was not a failure but a success. It prepared the way for the identification of Alexander with Dionysos in cult and legend, and it persisted in the honours offered at banquets to the guardian spirits of Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

THE ANTIMENES PAINTER

I SHOULD have liked to begin what I hope will be a series of essays on black-figure artists, not with the Antimenes painter, but with one of those bold congeners of Euphronios and Euthymides to whom Buschor has recently drawn attention.¹ But these, as it turned out, presented unexpected difficulties, so I begin with the Antimenes painter.

I name him after the inscription on a vase in Leyden, a hydria with a representation of youths washing which has always seemed to me one of the prettiest of black-figure pictures. The vase has been published twice, first by Roulez in very imperfect drawings,² lately by the lutrologist Sudhoff in good photographs.³ New photographs, which I owe to the kindness of Miss Brants, bring out some details obscure in Sudhoff (although in other points Sudhoff is superior), and give the proportions of the figures better, for in Sudhoff the lower parts are somewhat foreshortened.

PL. XI.

The fountain or wash-house consists of a back-wall with a pair of panther-head spouts, and a prostyle portico with a gable. The columns are three, Doric, with broad abacus; the middle one has a necking of egg-pattern. The epistyle is low, the frieze well divided-up; the pediment is decorated with a large disc (white, the centre red) flanked by a pair of serpents; the raking cornice is terminated to left and right by volutes, which help to support acroteria in the form of horses.⁴ There are three groups, three pairs. Under each spout a bather, a man and a boy. The water is not indicated, but the attitudes show that it is flowing freely. On each side of the building, in the open, a tree, and two boys under it, drying and oiling themselves.⁵ Their clothes are hanging on the branches, and their oil-bottles too. Beside the boy in the wash-house is the word *Antimenes*, and above him *kalos*. The name is a perfectly good one, and there is not the least reason for supposing that it is a miswriting for Automenes⁶—just because Automenes occurs on two other vases of the same period. The other inscription, to the right of the left-hand group, is not so simple. Seven of the eight letters are as clear as can be; but is the

¹ In Furtwängler-Reichhold, iii. p. 229.

² *Vases de Leyde*, Pl. 10: often reproduced (see p. 88).

³ *Aus dem antiken Bodmosen: medizinisch-kulturgeschichtliche Studien zu Vasenbildern* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 59-61.

⁴ On the architecture see Vallis in *Rev. arch.* 1908 (11), pp. 359-96 (the Leyden hydria is mentioned on p. 388); Orlandos in *Eph. arch.* 1916, pp. 94-7 (the Leyden vase, p. 104); Julius Hölzen, *Zur Entwicklung der antiken Brunnenarchitektur in*

Milet: das Nymphaeum, pp. 72-80, especially p. 77, fig. 7; and Beudorf in *Jahreshefte*, 2, pp. 16-18. Beudorf calls the central round a *phiale*, but I see no reason for this.

⁵ The taller of the boys on the right is not powdering as Norman Gardiner says (*Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 480), but oiling.

⁶ As Klein does (*Liedlingsinschriften*, p. 48, no. 2). The fifth letter, by the way, is legible. Sudhoff's 'painted by Automenes' is a misunderstanding of Klein.

last letter save two a nu, written backwards, or a sigma! I am inclined to take it for a nu, and to read $\Phi\lambda\omega\nu\sigma\epsilon$, with an eloquent aposiopesis⁷; but there are several possibilities.⁸

There is a secondary picture, as usual, on the shoulder: a chariot with the driver mounting, a warrior bidding his wife farewell, an old man seated, a herald, a man, a woman. Is the warrior Hector, with Andromache? Kebriones the charioteer? Priam the old man? Not impossible, but the painter has not made his meaning precise. Below the principal picture, as often in black-figured hydriae, a third picture, predella-like: youths mounted and on foot,



FIG. 1.—CUT IN THE WARREN COLLECTION.

hunting the stag with spears. The shape of the vase, and the patterns, have nothing peculiar.

The date of the vase will not be disputed. It clearly belongs to the early red-figure period, to the time of such artists as Psiax or Oltos—Oltos in his earlier phase. Compare the oil-pourer to the right of the wash-house with the oil-pourer of Psiax on his alabastron in Karlsruhe,⁹ or the oil-pourer of Oltos either in his New York psykter,¹⁰ or in an earlier work of his, a cup which was

⁷ Klein gives two examples of Philon as a love-name (*Liebdingsschriften*, pp. 116-117): his No. 2, a hf. cyathos in Cambridge, is of the same period as our vase; his No. 1 is later. Add a hf. hydria of our period in the Peake collection (Herakles and Cerberus: *Philon kolos*).

⁸ For instance, $\phi\lambda\omega\sigma\epsilon$, 'I like you,' with

a sigma too many.

⁹ Wulter, *Aus der Karlsruher Vasensammlung*, Pl. 8.

¹⁰ 10. 210. 18: details of the vase, but not the detail we must need, in my *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (V. 4, p. 18, and in Alexander, *Greek Athletics*, pp. 10, 15, and 31.

lately in the London market and is now in the possession of Mr. Warren.¹¹ **Fig. 1.** Not the same hand, but the same period. Common to all three, for one thing, the rounded shoulders. I would beg the reader to give the pictures on the Leyden hydria a good general look, then to go over the bodies, the drapery on the trees, the horses, and that done to turn to another well-known vase, the neck-amphora with olive-pickers in the British Museum. It is a neck-amphora of the ordinary late black-figure class. The picture of the olive-pickers was first published by Jahn in his article on representations of workmen,¹² and a new drawing, by Anderson, in that excellent book, the British Museum Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman life,¹³ is reproduced here by kind permission of Mr. Walters. Three trees, and a boy sitting in the middle one near the top, shaking the boughs energetically with a stick,¹⁴ his head thrown back and his lips parted. Two men stand on the ground with sticks,¹⁵ beating the branches or the trunk, the fruit falls in showers, and a boy kneels picking it up and stowing it into a basket. Both boys, and one of the men, wear the hats, of fur or skin, which workmen and rustics often wore; the second man is bareheaded.¹⁶

The same outdoor charm as in the Leyden vase—two glimpses, such as Aristophanes gives, of care-free, unselfconscious life in country or playing-field. The same trees. The same short, dapper, lively figures; and the same bodily forms. The ankle indicated by two short curved lines, well apart. Two short vertical lines on the outside of the leg. On the inside of the leg, **Fig. 2.** marking the calf off, an arc which tends to be so placed that a line through its extreme points would be nearly parallel to the ground-line. The knee either two arcs convex to each other, or if less carefully done (5 in Leyden, 2, 3, and 4 in London) a single arc touching the contour with both ends. A line on the thigh. An arc, or two joining, on the buttock. A group of horizontal lines between navel and breast. The nipple a little circle, or a dot. The collar-bone now hook-ended (1, 4, 5 and 6 in Leyden, 4 in London), now two parallel lines (2 in Leyden, 2 in London). One line on the forearm, one on the upper arm. The elbow like the two forms of knee. The mouth very long. The olive-pickers are on a smaller scale than the bathers, and worked out less precisely: this accounts for two slight differences. First, in the ears: these are more summary and simpler in three of the London figures, but the ear of the kneeling boy is of the same shape as the Leyden ears. Secondly, only one of the London figures has the two vertical lines on the outside of the leg. The others have been given the same arc on the outside as on the inside. This

¹¹ No. 23 in my list of vases by Olton, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 13.

¹² *Berichte Sächs. Ges.* 1867, Pl. 2; often reproduced (see p. 82).

¹³ P. 176.

¹⁴ Such sticks were called *gárpou*, as we know from Pollux (Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 83).

¹⁵ Walters (*B.M. Cat.* ii, p. 147, No. B 226) does not mention the boys' hats, and calls the man's a pilos. Laertes, working in his orchard, wore a cap of goatskin:

σινύριον εὐρύς κεφαλῆ ἔχει (Od. 24, 231).

A note on the preservation. Anderson indicated what is missing: part of the boy's stick and of one or two branches, part of 4's hat, nape, and breast. A crack has carried away the lower line of 1's knee. Mr. Waterhouse has made one or two trifling corrections in Anderson's drawing, and has restored the boy's stick and the black of the right-hand man's breast.

tendency to transfer to the outside of the leg what is appropriate to the inside only does not appear in the Leyden bathers; but it does appear at Leyden—in the figure on the extreme right of the hastily drawn predella.

Neck-amphorae have two pictures, one on each side. Let us turn the London vase round. Will it be like Leyden, or quite different?

PL. XII.

Herakles and the centaur Pholos.¹⁶ The good centaur, with a pet fawn by his side, and the traditional pine-branch, with game hanging from it, over his shoulder, gives the shake-hand to the hero, who bends his head courteously, and, as if to assure the centaur of his peacefulness, has taken his lion-skin off and carries it on the end of his club. Hermes, having conducted the hero to his host, sits down to take a rest. All seems well.



FIG. 2.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B226): OLIVE PICKERS.

First look at the general character of the figures with their nice plump legs and arms. Then at ankles, legs outside and inside, knees, belly, arms and elbows, collar-bone.¹⁷ They are the same as in the olive-pickers, and the same as in the Leyden vase. Then look at two lines which do not appear in the small-scale olive-pickers: the horizontal line at the back of Herakles's right knee; and the horizontal line on the chest of Pholos above the nipple. The first recurs in the second figure on the Leyden hydria: the second in five

¹⁶ Modern, most of the fox (restored as a hare), the middle of the hare, most of the tail and rump of Pholos, part of the lines on his man-belly, part of the fawn's eye and of Herakles's eye, small parts of his legs, part of the shoulder of Hermes, part of his left leg between calf and knee, most of the zigzag foliole near the right-hand

corner of the settle. Pholos and the fawn have a white belly-stripe, which hardly shows in the photograph: the fawn's neck is red with a white stripe in front; on his hindquarters a red line between two incised.

¹⁷ The collar-bone (Pholos's) hardly comes out in the photograph: it is of the second, parallel-line type.

out of the six bathers. Now take the horse-part of Pholos, and compare it with the acroterion-horses, and the horses in the shoulder-picture, at Leyden. These are on a smaller scale, but they repeat the pair of arcs, concave to each other, on the breast; the same pair, smaller, on knees and hocks; besides the two lines on the rump, and the arc on the fetlock.

From the London vase there are several routes: I choose that which I myself first took. Another London vase, and one published, like the olive-pickers, in the *Guide to Greek and Roman Life*.¹² Once more, with the permission of Mr. Walters, I reproduce Anderson's drawing, in collotype this time, and with a few corrections by Mr. Waterhouse. Wonderful technique, wonderful preservation. The shape has one peculiarity of detail: the three metallising nail-heads at the junction of back-handle and neck are common enough, and the tongue-pattern at the base of the side handles; but the foot has a very rare form, and the greater part of the side of the foot is painted white.¹³ The principal picture is one of those harnessing scenes which were popular in the late black-figure period and which have recently been studied by Zahn.¹⁴ Ankles, legs, knees, belly, breast, collar-bone, arms and elbows, ears and long mouth as before. The hip-furrows much as in Leyden 1, 3 and 5. The vertical line on 1's side as in Pholos. The horses of the same build as on the shoulder of the Leyden vase: the lines on breast, rump, and fetlock, as there and in the London Pholos: the pair of arcs does not occur on the knees, but does occur on one of the hocks. A single line on the horse's neck as at Leyden, and the peytrel, red with white florets, the same. Pl. XIII.

On the shoulder of the vase, a fight, with a hero fallen noseling, dead, stripped, and a chariot driving over him. The predella, a boar-hunt, hastily drawn, gives us two features which we did not find in the harnessing, but which we know from Leyden and the olive-pickers: the arc for the hollow on the hip, and the rougher type of knee.

Of the other hydriai with harnessing-scenes, there is one that stands particularly close to ours: Munich 1694.¹⁵ It is not so fine, or so vigorous, or nearly so well preserved; and it is not a replica; but the forms are the same throughout. Ankles, legs, knees, hip-line, transverse lines and vertical line on

¹² B.M. B 304. *Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, 1st edition, frontispiece: unfortunately suppressed in the second edition. A general view of the vase is given by Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, ii, Pl. 49 (frontispiece).

¹³ The shape shows tolerably well in Walters' plate: the white part is concave, spreading downwards; below that a fillet painted black, and red over the black. The base-fillet is as usual red. A red line half-way along the upper side of the foot. I do not know any other hydriai with a foot just like this. The foot of B.M. B 316 (see below, p. 87) is concave, spreading, and white-sided like ours, and in two other bf. hydriai, Munich 1697 (Jahn 44), and

Berlin 1896, the shape of the foot is the same (much as in the Amazonian neck-amphora in Boston, Cuskey, *Geometry*, pp. 44 and 45), but the side the normal black.

¹⁴ In Furtwängler-Reichhold, iii, pp. 230-2. See also Wroble, *Krieger Abschied und Heimkehr in der gr. Kunst* (known to me from the extract in *Jahrbuch der philosoph. Fakultät in Marburg*), pp. 7-8.

¹⁵ Jahn 130: for permission to publish this and other vases in Munich I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Sieveking. Dr. Wroble tells me that he had already assigned the London hydria and the Munich hydria to the same hand, and also the second hydria in Munich, No. 57 in my list (see below, p. 88).

the body, breast, collar-bone, arms, ears, horses: even to such details as the horizontal line at the ham in 4, the nebuly line on the baluster of the chariot-



FIG. 3.—HYDRIA IN MUNICH (1694): HARNESSING.

car, the wheel in all its parts and lashings, and the lower termination, most peculiar, of the long white chiton.

The Munich hydria has inscriptions. The young man who holds the reins



FIG. 4.—SHOULDER OF HERLIN 1890: HARNESSING.

is called Hippotion, a good name for a lover of horses; the trace-horse is Xanthos; the name of the mature expert who is preparing to harness the trace-horse is fragmentary, and may be either Anaxidemos, as Jahn suggests, or, as I prefer, Zeuxidemos, in which the first element will have been suggested to the

artist by his subject.²³ The predella—a deer-hunt—and the shoulder-picture—a warrior leaving home, and his chariot waiting for him—vividly recall the hydria in Leyden.

There are other harnessing hydriae to which I might now turn, but I leave them for the present, and, to refresh the reader's eye, I beg him to give a glance at a hydria which is contemporary with ours, or only a trifle later, has the same



FIG. 5.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE VILLA GIULIA: HERAKLES AND PHOLOE.

subject and a similar design, but is not by the same hand: the well-known vase in Berlin lately republished by Zahn;²⁴ a word about it later. And Fig. 4, now a fourth hydria, this time in Berlin.²⁵ With Professor Zahn's per-

²³ The inscriptions read *HIPOTION* (retrograde), *Σ+ΑΝΘΟ(ς)*, and . . . *Σ+ΙΔΕΜΟΝ*. *ΣΧ* for *ΧΣ*, see Kretschmer, *Fasceschriften*, p. 189; and compare *Σ+ΟΝΘΟΝ* for the horse-name *Xanthos* on the *cf.* amphora with the signature of Menon in Philadelphia (*Philadelphian Museum Journal*, 3, pp. 34-6). The last letter of the last Munich inscription seems to be *N* with the last stroke effaced—a sigma written sideways. The name *Hippotion* occurs elsewhere in a horse context: on Berlin 1655, the Corinthian vase with the departure of Amphiaraus, the youth at the horses' heads is called *Hippotion* (F.R., Pl. 121).

²⁴ 1897 (F.R., Pl. 154, 2). See below, p. 92, No. 8.

²⁵ 1890. Modern, 3's l. wrist and a good bit of her face, 4's eyebrow and the lower line of his chest; on the shoulder, the tail of the left-hand horse and part of his rump and hind-legs, the feet of the right-hand figure. For the attitude of the seated woman, with both feet extended frontal, compare an earlier vase, a panathenaic amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles (243: Salamann, *Cassires*, Pl. 57); and a cup, of about the same time as our vase, in Boulogne (*Dionysos* seated frontal). Standing figures with similar feet on an earlier neck-amphora in the British Museum (B 49: Gerhard, *A.F.*, Pl. 241, 1-2), and on a neck-amphora, about contemporary with our hydria, in Detroit (*hoplites* frontal on either side of a frontal chariot).

- Pl. XIV. mission, I publish excellent photographs of it by Mr. Trene. Subjects, hitherto, have given us little trouble, but here even Furtwängler was puzzled. A man of kingly appearance is reclining at meat, with his knife in his hand, and a good deal of food on the table beside him: seated near the end of his couch, a woman offering him a flower: a lyre hanging on the wall between them: under a table, as often, a dog. Two parties approaching him: a man, his head bent deferentially, offers his hand, which the master of the house shows no signs of wishing to take; a woman follows, or stands behind. On the other side, two naked men, one with his arm round the other's neck. The forms as before: ankles, legs, knees, bellies, breasts, collar-bones, arms, elbows, ears. This is our first picture with much drapery: but I would point out that in all four draped figures the zigzag folds are drawn very sharply, with a tendency towards straight lines; and the same quality of zigzag is observable, less carefully carried out, in the clothes which hang on the trees at Leyden. In the Munich harnessing, the zigzag of Hippotion's cloak has more of the double-curve in it, and this, with traces of the same in some of the knee-markings, makes me think that the Munich vase is a little later than the others.²⁶

The predella of the Berlin hydria represents Herakles contending with the lion, and the shoulder has another harnessing scene, with all the usual markings on horse as well as man.

Fig. 5.

Now let us turn back to the olive-pickers, or rather to the Herakles and Pholos on the reverse of the vase. The same subject is treated, in the same style, on a neck-amphora, from the Castellani collection, in the Villa Giulia, which the special kindness of Dr. Mingazzini, who has prepared the catalogue of the Castellani vases, enables me to reproduce here. There is no reason why the two vases should be replicas, and they are not. In the Castellani version, Herakles is without his lion-skin, and his club he holds in front of him; Pholos shows himself civilised by wearing a himation and a headband, but, as if to remind us that a tailor cannot make a man, his hair is pathetically long, and his ears are not human but horse's ears; the fawn pokes his nose out towards the stranger; Hermes stands instead of sitting; and so on. But the style is the same. The same general look; and the details—am I to recite the list once more? Three points only. The red line between a pair of incised is here not on the fawn's hindquarters, but on the centaur's. And see how like the two fawns are; and the two quivers. The only quiver we have come across hitherto, in the small rough predella in the Berlin hydria, is more summary, but of the same model. I lay no stress on the white-ground neck of the Castellani vase: it reminds one of the white foot of the London harnessing hydria; but such use of white is merely a device for adding a touch of gaiety to the general aspect, and, although our artist employs it several times, it is naturally not confined to him. I do not figure the reverse of the Castellani vase, Apollo with a lyre, and a fawn beside him, between two women, one of whom holds out a flower, while the other lifts her garment in front of her with the familiar archaic

²⁶ See p. 80.



FIG. 6.—NECK-AMPHORA IN NAPLES (84. 100): PELEUS AND CHIRON.



FIG. 7.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B 267): DIONYSOS.

- gesture; Hermes standing by.²⁷ But instead, again by permission of Dr. Mingazzini, the obverse of a neck-amphora in Naples.²⁸ Once more a centaur, and a hero, and Hermes: but this time the centaur is not Pholos but Chiron: his pet a dog, not a fawn; and the hero is Peleus, placing his infant son Achilles in the hands of a tutor.²⁹ I need not labour the identity of style. One word only: Chiron's fore-legs are human, but his hind-legs, indistinct in the photograph, have the usual pair of arcs on the hocks. I have no photograph of the picture on the reverse, Dionysos with a couple of maenads and a satyr: if I had, it would supply two features which naturally do not appear in the clothed figures on the obverse—the usual collar-bone, the usual horizontal lines on the trunk; and it would furnish a convenient transition to my other pictures of satyrs and maenads. But never mind, here is a British Museum vase, B 267, which will take its place. On the obverse, Dionysos, and a woman whom we may call, if we like, Ariadne;³⁰ behind him, Hermes and a nymph; preceding him, a pair of satyrs, one playing the flute. On the reverse, a warrior taking leave of his aged father. Let us look at the naked figures first—the satyrs—and at the naked parts of the clothed figures. Ankles and legs, knees and hips, arms and trunk, collar-bone and ears, are all as in the Leyden hydria and the olive-pickers. The knees of Hermes are different from the rest—but a second rougher type of knee we know already, and found used side by side with the more characteristic on those vases and on several others, for instance, in the Hermes of the Chiron vase. The quiver is of the same kind as in the Pholos vases; and the lower edge of the himation, in Dionysos and in the old man, has the same quality of fold as we found in the Berlin hydria and the Leyden.

- The departure scene is to be compared with that on a neck-amphora in Würzburg: the two old fathers are specially alike in head and hair and fold.³¹ I publish Mr. Lochmüller's photograph, with Professor Bulle's kind permission. The Würzburg vase stands even closer than the London to the hydria in Leyden, for the figures look shorter and more child-like, and are neatly separated off from each other, instead of being crowded up so as to overlap: the London

²⁷ A very similar composition on another neck-amphora of the same period, Compiègne 977 (*C.F.A. Compiègne*, Pl. 3, 3 and 9). I have no note on the vase, and how close the resemblance is in detail one cannot tell from the useful but rather fuliginous photographs in the Corpus. Mrs. Flot calls the chief figure on the obverse Apollo or Orpheus, both with a query. Mr. Philippart is certain that it is not Apollo: 'le personnage jouant de la lyre n'est certainement pas Apollon' (*Travaux récents sur la céramique grecque in Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1926, p. 253). His researches in Daremberg and Saglio have led him to the discovery that lyre and cithara are two different things (*ibid.*, pp. 254-5), and from

his italics he would seem to believe that Apollo is never represented with the lyre. I don't think I need bother to quote more than one instance, *Mon.* I, Pl. 46.

²⁸ Santangelo 169. The parts about the infant's ear are modern; a little repainting along fractures.

²⁹ The most circumstantial treatment of this popular subject is on a fragmentary cup by Maeron in the Acropolis collection at Athens, B 77¹, mentioned in my *Attische Vasenmalerei* (p. 212, No. 15), but the subject not recognised.

³⁰ The face of Dionysos disfigured by a scratch.

³¹ 105. Drawing in the Berlin apparatus, xi. 95. On B, a wheeling chariot.



FIG. 8.—REVERSE OF FIG. 7: DEPARTURE OF SOLDIERS.



FIG. 9.—NECK-AMPHORA IN WÜRZBURG (103): DEPARTURE OF SOLDIER.

vase is no doubt somewhat later than the other two. A third departure vase in the same style is the neck-amphora Cambridge 53, which I do not figure, because there are respectable pictures of it in Ernest Gardner's catalogue.³² The reverse shows us a frontal quadriga, a favourite design in the archaic period, but here we find certain features which we have noticed in our profile horses—the pair of arcs on each knee, the single arc on the fetlock, the single line on the neck, the pair of arcs over the eye: on the face there is a vertical line between the eye and the strap which runs from mouth to mane, and the same line may be seen in the harnessing hydriai, that in London, that in Munich.

The London satyrs are moving out of the picture: what would they look like if they got a little farther? The answer is given by another neck-amphora in London, B 266. The main decoration is, on each side, between two big eyes, a big full-face head of Dionysos;³³ but under each handle a satyr crouches with a branch in his hand. And look, here they are once more, dancing round their master on a neck-amphora in Munich.³⁴ The Munich Dionysos has the same slashing folds at the lower edge of his himation as the Dionysos of London B 267. The resemblances between the Munich and the London satyrs I forbear to point out. The Munich reverse is a frontal quadriga, which is particularly like the quadriga on the Cambridge vase. The Munich horses have all those features which we dwelt on at Cambridge; and both at Cambridge and at Munich there is the same curved line on each breast, the same arc at the bottom of the neck above the middle of the peytrel, the same treatment of tails and lashed wheels. Finally, while the Cambridge peytrel is a plain red band, the Munich peytrel adds those white florets which are found in most of the profile horses. A third quadriga, with all these peculiarities, is on the reverse of a neck-amphora in the British Museum;³⁵ a woman stands to the right of the chariot, and her drapery is like that of the woman in the same place at Munich.

Then look at the obverse of the London vase, for it gives us naked figures; and these, in every detail, take us back to the Leyden hydria. The subject is Theseus and the Minotaur, with a youth and a maiden looking on: the short chiton of Theseus, for the quality of its terminal folds, may be compared with the himatia of the old men in London B 267 and the Würzburg departure. In Frankfort there is what may almost be described as a free replica of this vase:³⁶ on the obverse, the same persons, but a somewhat later moment; on the reverse, instead of the woman, two little boys. I have not examined the

³² *Catalogue of Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Pl. 15.

³³ Not a satyr, as Walters: for the ears are human. There are neck-amphorae with the same type of decoration in Corneto (R.C. 1804: phot. Alinari 26042; 2), in Munich (*Arch. Anz.* 1914, p. 471, and Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 138), and in Madrid (10903, Leroux 80, Ossorio, *Vases grecos*, Pl. 7, 1).

³⁴ 1514 (Jahn 535). Repainting along the fractures.

³⁵ B 247. The handles are set off from the body at their lower attachment; otherwise a normal neck-amphora. The white of the woman's flesh is repainted; and on R part of the charioteer's forehead and hair, of the right-hand pole-horse's neck, and of the woman's left sleeve at its lower end. The peytrel is black with white florets.

³⁶ Historisches Museum: Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Pl. 8.



FIG. 10.—NEOK-AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B 206): SATYR.



FIG. 11.—NEOK-AMPHORA IN MUNICH (1514): DIONYSOS, SATYR AND MAENAD.



FIG. 12.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B 247): QUADRIGA.



FIG. 13.—REVERSE OF FIG. 12: THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR.



FIG. 14.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE SPENSER-CHURCHILL COLLECTION: SATYR PLAYING CITHARA AND MAENADS.



FIG. 15.—REVERSE OF FIG. 14: ΨΩΙΤ.

vase, and know it from Schaal's reproductions only. It seems to have suffered from retouching; but I can hardly believe that it is not by the same hand as its companion in London.

- The frontal chariot has caused a digression. A neck-amphora belonging to Captain Spencer-Churchill, which I reproduce with his kind permission, brings us back to Dionysos. On one side, a satyr playing the cithara, and two maenads tripping up to him with long branches in their hands; on the other a fight—two warriors, perhaps Achilles and Memnon,³⁷ and two women looking on. The satyr speaks for himself; he might have stepped off the Munich Dionysos vase. Although the left-hand warrior is wearing a corslet, the horizontal line on his chest is not omitted. The short lines, one, two, on his opponent's hands, just above the red-edged greaves, recur in the warriors on the reverse of London B 267. The left-hand woman in the combat-scene wears the peplos, and may be compared with the London Ariadne, or the peplos figures in the Munich chariot scene and the London Theseus vase. The other three women wear the Ionic chiton, with a short colpos in front; but the terminal zigzag is of the usual quality, and the system of folds below the waist—grouped about two-updrawn folds, and relieved by red spaces—is the same, in the main, as in the seated woman on the Berlin hydria. The short chiton of the left-hand warrior is like the women's chitons, while the older, foldless rendering persists in his opponent.

- Like the Northwick combatants, and like the right-hand figure in the London departure—but probably somewhat earlier, for the chiton system is less elaborate—are the two warriors on the reverse of another neck-amphora in London, B 244.³⁸ The scene is a favourite one with black-figure painters; but what it represents is not certain. Aithra rescued by her grandsons—Helen led away by Paris and Aeneas—Helen recovered by Menelaos and Agamemnon: all these explanations have been proposed, and others: I adopt the third provisionally:³⁹ it is at least sometimes correct. The fourth figure, the youth to the right of the rest, we have met before: in the Würzburg departure. But there are replicas of the whole picture, in the same style, on a neck-amphora in Berlin⁴⁰ and another in the Villa Giulia.⁴¹ The three obverses tell the same tale as the reverses: the Birth of Athena on the London vase gives collar-bone and breast, knees and calves—all that was concealed by armour on the reverse: peplos-figures also, to set beside the Ariadne of B 267. The fight on the Berlin vase is too fragmentary to help much, but what remains

³⁷ See, recently, von Massow in *Ath. Mit.* 41, p. 59.

³⁸ Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 2; A, better, *EL. cer.* 1, Pl. 58; A, after Gerhard, Walters, *B.M. Cat.* ii, p. 11, and Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, ii, p. 16.

³⁹ So Furtwängler, *Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* on No. 1842. See also von Massow in *Ath. Mit.* 41, pp. 59–60.

⁴⁰ 1842: *A.Z.* 1851, Pl. 30 (Overbeck), whence Overbeck, *Gall. her. Bildw.* Pl. 22, 3

and Pl. 26, 2 (not 27, 3 as Furtwängler). The numerous restorations are noted by Furtwängler. That the restorer was right in making the last figure beardless, is shown, against Furtwängler, by the replicas.

⁴¹ 15537. *Mon. Line.* 24, Pl. 6, 18 (Caltreca); *C.V.A.* Villa Giulia, *Inv. H. e.* Pl. 3, 1–3 (Giglioli). The right-hand figure on B is a youth, and not a woman as Giglioli suggests.



FIG. 16.—REVERSE OF FIG. 17: MENELAOS AND HELEN (7).



FIG. 17.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B 244): BIRTH OF ATHENA.

is characteristic enough. The Herakles and Eurystheus on the Villa Giulia gives knees, lower legs, quiver.

Pl. XII.
Fig. 18.

Two vases, both in the British Museum, I have kept to the last, because they raise the important question—touched on already, but only cursorily—of early and late. One of them, the neck-amphora B 274,⁴² is not quite an ordinary neck-amphora: it is larger than usual, the handles are quadruple not triple, and there is a double row of pattern above the pictures. The subjects are ordinary enough: on one side, a warrior mounting his chariot, with three companions on foot; on the other, a youth setting out with two horses, and a woman and another youth standing by. The forms of man, and horse, and gear are the familiar ones, even to the floretted peytrel, and the nebuly pattern on the side of the chariot-car. But there is one thing that is more pronounced here—and especially in the right-hand youth on the reverse—than in any of the vases we have hitherto examined, not excepting the harnessing hydria in Munich: in the lines of the zigzag which terminates the folds, the double curve tends to supplant the single. Now in the middle period of the black-figure style—the period of Exekias and the Amasis painter—the double-curved fold-line is unknown: on the other hand, it is one of the chief stylistic elements in the early period of ripe archaic red-figure—the period of Euphronios and Euthymides. We may take it that if the Antimenes painter moved, he moved with the general movement of art in his time; and the rule may be formulated, double-fold vases late, single-fold early. But the rule must be applied with circumspection; for in careless drawing, or in drawing on a small scale, even if late, the single-fold will tend to take the place of the more elaborate double-fold.⁴³ The same caution is to be used with other criteria. The use of the double-curve in other places, for instance, the knee; the substitution of a wavy line⁴⁴ for a straight in the non-terminal folds; the exclusion of the peplos by the Ionic chiton, or at least the strong predominance of the newer fashion; more complex formulae for rendering drapery; a style less trim, with figures which seem somehow bigger and stronger; all these will be marks of lateness; for the general trend of drawing between Exekias and Euphronios is in that direction. But to arrange the works of the Antimenes painter in chronological order is beyond my powers: I think I can say that certain pieces are late, others latish, others not late; but in the list which I shall presently give, I shall group the vases by shape of course, but beyond that by collections only, occasionally adding the word late or latish.

Fig. 19.

Before I give my list, I have one more vase⁴⁵ to mention, the London neck-amphora B 232. It bears all the marks of lateness: double-curve for single-

⁴² The foot is lost. A good deal of restoration. For instance, the knees of the horseman have suffered; the youth to the right in B had the usual horizontal lines on the body, but the inner end of the upper one is all that remains; the upper part of his ear is also modern; and so on.

⁴³ We find it even in B 274 itself—in a hasty portion, the end of the horseman's chlainys.

⁴⁴ The wavy line is not to be confused with the crinkly line familiar from the Amasis painter.

⁴⁵ A. Walters, *B.M. Cat.* ii. p. 13; this drawing is not perfect; for instance, the ankles of Iolace are omitted, and the right ankle of Herakles misdrawn. On B, a chip has removed part of the left-hand satyr's beard.



FIG. 18.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (H 274) : YOUTH AND HORSE.



FIG. 19.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B 232) :
DIONYSOS AND ARIADNE.

curve in terminal fold and in knee, wavy lines in the drapery, predominance of the Ionic chiton, bigger, stronger figures—compared with the similar scene on B 267—and in the chiton of Dionysos the beginning of a new system of drapery, big empty spaces alternating with dense groups of lines. The style is that of the Antimenes painter, but deeply affected by the strong new art of the end of the sixth century.

Now my list of vases by the Antimenes painter. His favourite shapes are the neck-amphora and the hydria: to the third great standard shape of the black-figure period, the amphora, he paid little attention.

NECK-AMPHORAE OF NORMAL SHAPE.

Neither pattern-borders nor handle-palmettes have anything individual. On the neck, the usual double palmette and bud: our artist uses red and incision for details, in the earlier manner (some of his contemporaries dropped the red, and in the latest group of neck-amphorae the neck-pattern has usually neither red nor incision). Twice the neck is white-ground.⁴⁶ Above the picture, the ordinary tongue-pattern, not all black as in many late vases, but alternately black and red. Below this, once only (12), lotus-bud. At the base the usual rays, and between the rays and the picture the usual bands of pattern, separated by pairs of lines⁴⁷: far the commonest combination is a blank band, below it key-pattern, below that lotus-bud; sometimes the blank band is omitted; once (9), three narrow black bands take the place of the lotus-bud. The handle-palmettes are of normal type. The mouth of 25 is rifled.⁴⁸

1. London B 226, from Vulci. Jahn, *Darstellung des Handwerks in Berichte Sächs. Ges.* 1867, Pl. 2; A, after Jahn; Duruy, *Histoire des Grecs*, I, p. 716; Baumeister, *Denkmäler* p. 1047, Fig. 1250; Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v. oleum*, Fig. 5385; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Fig. 294, and Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work*, p. 260: drawing of B in the Berlin apparatus, s. 102 B: A, new, *British Museum Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, 2nd ed., p. 176 = Blümner, *Technologie*, 2nd ed., I, p. 333; and our Fig. 2: B, new, Pl. XII. 1. A, olive-pickers. B, Herakles and Phokos. See pp. 65-7.

2. London B 244, from Vulci. Gerhard, *A.F.* Pl. 2: A, better, *El. cer.* I, Pl. 58; A, after Gerhard; Walters, *B.M. Cat.* iii p. 11; and *Ancient Pottery*, ii, p. 16: new, Figs. 16, 17. A, Birth of Athena. B, Menelaos recovering Helen. See p. 78.

3. London B 266, from Vulci. A, between two eyes, frontal head of Dionysos; B, the like: under each handle, a satyr squatting (Fig. 10). See p. 74.

4. London B 267, from Vulci. Figs. 7, 8. A, Dionysos and Ariadne, with Hermes, a nymph, and two satyrs. B, warriors leaving home. Not very early. See p. 72.

⁴⁶ Nos. 8 and 25. Other bl. neck-amphorae with white-ground neck: Villa Giulia 1203 (C.F.A., V.G. Pl. 7, 1-2: A, phot. Alinari 41185); B.M. B 215 (recalls Orton).

⁴⁷ The same bands on neck-amphorae in the Spencer-Churchill collection (A, Herakles and Athena and Hermes; B, Dionysos between maenads), in Berlin (1835), in Corneto (R.C. 3222, and (phot. Alinari

26042, left) R.C. 2800).

⁴⁸ The rifled mouth is well known in 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphorae and in hydriae of the same period as these, and occurs intermittently later (panathenaic amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles, 243, Salzmänn, *Camires*, Pl. 57, of the generation previous to our vase; cf. neck-amphora by the Kleophrades painter, B.M. E 270, *Mon. Ant.* 5, Pl. 10, phot. Mansell).

5. London B 263, from Camiros. A, Apollo with muses and Hermes. B, fight, with two women. Apollo plays the cithara, not the lyre as in the Castellani vase No. 25. Latish.
6. London B 232, from Vulci. A, Walters, *B.M. Cat.* ii. p. 13; small phot. of A, Spearing, *The Childhood of Art*, p. 467; B, Fig. 19. A, Herakles and the Lion. B, Dionysos and Ariadne with silens and a maenad. Late. See p. 80.
7. Cambridge 53, from Vulci. E. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Pl. 15. A, warrior leaving home. B, frontal chariot. See p. 74.
- 7 bis, Cambridge 50, from Vulci. E. Gardner, *ibid.*, Pl. 12. A, Achilles and Ajax playing. B, two horsemen meeting in battle, and a hoplite running past.⁴²
8. Edinburgh 1887. 211. Drawing in the Berlin apparatus, xv. 39: A, C. Smith, *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes, Fictile Ware, and Glass, presented to the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art by Sir Hugh Hume-Campbell of Marchmont, Bart.* (Edinburgh, 1887), Pl. 3, 2. A, Dionysos with Hermes, maenads, and a silen. B, wheeling chariot. The neck white-ground (see p. 82).
9. Northwick Park, Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill. Figs. 14, 15. A, fight, with two women. B, silen playing the cithara, and two maenads. See p. 78.
10. London. Sir Wilfrid Peake. Drawing in the Berlin apparatus, xii. 138: A, Herakles and the Amazons. B, fight, with a man interposing (Ajax and Hector?). Not very early.
11. Louvre F 219, from Vulci. *Corpus Louvre III H v*, pl. 40, 6 and 9. A, Herakles and the Lion. B, chariot. Both sides much restored.
12. Louvre F 228, from Etruria. A, Pottier, Pl. 80: *Corpus Louvre III H v*, pl. 43, 1 and d. A, Herakles and Cerberus. B, Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Below the pictures, lotus-bud, then animals (lions and boars). Latish.
13. Brussels R 291. Panofka, *Cabinet Fournelles*, Pl. 12: A is published on a museum postcard: new, C.F.A. Brussels III H v, Pl. 8, 1 (Mayence). A, Herakles and Eurythene. B, warriors ready to depart: extispicy. On A, meaningless inscriptions, ΕΒΕΛΕΙΤΕΙΕ, ΕΙΛ ΤΕΛΕ, ΕΓΓΕΙΕ, ΕΒΕΙΤΕΙΛΕΙ, ΕΙΛΕ, ΕΙΛΕ, ΕΙΛΕ.⁴³ Not very early.
14. Berlin 1842, from Etruria. A.Z. 1851, Pl. 30 (Overbeck), whence Overbeck, *Gall. her. Bibl.* Pl. 22, 3 and Pl. 26, 2. A, fight, with two women. B, Menelaos recovering Helen. See p. 78.
15. Berlin 1855, from Etruria. Micall, *Storia*, Pl. 92; B, Panofka, *Bilder und Lebens*, Pl. 14, 8, Schreiber, *Bilderatlas*, Pl. 66, 8, Blümmel, *Technologie*, 2nd ed. i. p. 334, and Brandt, *Schaffende Arbeit und Bildende Kunst*, p. 77, Fig. 84. A, Herakles and Eurythene. B, olive-pickers. The countrymen wear not skin hats like the London olive-pickers, but goatskin coats.⁴⁴ I take this vase to be by the Antimenes painter, though not of quite the same period as the London olive-pickers, but later.
16. Munich 1514 (Jahn 535). Fig. 11. A, Dionysos with silens and maenad. B, frontal chariot, with a woman on each side. See p. 74.

⁴² E. Gardner says of B: 'this is a variation on the very common theme of a running or kneeling warrior between two horsemen. Its meaning seems doubtful, and probably confused.' I see no obscurity, or confusion. The hoplite runs past, like the hoplite on the Penthesilea cup in Munich (F.R. Pl. 6), or, to cite a work contemporary with the Cambridge vase, like the giant with the kambaros-supported crest on the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.

⁴³ Mr. Mayence rightly regards the in-

scriptions as meaningless (*Corpus ad v.*): not so Panofka, or Mr. Philippart (*Rev. de l'Univ. de Bruxelles*, 1926, p. 4). 'On ne se compromettra pas en notant la triple répétition du mot ελε (cepit).' And *cherche, cherche, cherche* in the fountain scene on the London hydria B 333!

⁴⁴ Theognis 55, εἰμ δ' ἀπὸ σάκκου δοπὰς αἰλῶν σαρύραρον, εἴμ δ' αἰὲρ θάλασσαν ἑσπέρ' ἐλμυρὸν ἑλδρος: see also Ridgway, *Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 89-90, and Jahrbuch, 32, p. 58, note 2 (Bieber).

17. Munich 1548 (Jahn 313). A, *Münchener Studien*, p. 431 (Lippold). A, hoplite and rider. B, fight over fallen.

18. Munich 1555 (Jahn 610). Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 88 (not 78 as in Jahn); B, new, *Münchener Studien*, p. 339 (Ed. Schmidt). Perseus and the Gorgons: B, two Gorgons flying; A, Medusa decapitated and collapsing, Athena and Hermes, Perseus flying. Parts of the Gorgons' flesh repainted. Larger than usual.

19. Würzburg 103. Drawings in the Berlin apparatus, xi. 98: A, Fig. 9. A, warrior leaving home (Hector?). B, wheeling chariot. See p. 72.

20. Würzburg 106. A, fight, with a man interposing, and two women. B, Herakles and Athena, with Hermes and Iolao. Some restoration.

21. Würzburg 110. A, Herakles and the Lion. B, Poseidon and Giant.

22. Würzburg 86. A, Judgment of Paris (Hermes, Priam, and the goddesses). B, rider and man.

23. Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, from Corneto. Schaal, *Vasen in Frankfurter*



FIG. 20.—NECK-AMPHORA IN NAPLES (STG. 186): HERAKLES AND EURYSTHEUS.

Sammlungen, Pl. 8. A, Theseus and the Minotaur. B, frontal chariot, with a naked boy on each side of it. See p. 74.

24. Vatican, from Vulci. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 61, 2. A, Dionysos with maenads and silens. B, warrior leaving home.

25. Villa Giulia (Castellani). A, Fig. 5. A, Herakles and Pholos. B, Apollo with muses and Hermes. The neck white-ground. The mouth rifled. See p. 70.

26. Villa Giulia 15537. *Mon. Line.* 24, Pl. 6, 18 (Caltre); C.F.A. Villa Giulia III H v, Pl. 3, 1-3 (Giglioli). A, Herakles and Eurystheus. B, Menelaos recovering Helen (replicas on Nos. 2 and 14). See p. 78.

Fig. 20.

27. Naples Stg. 160. A, Fig. 6. A, Peleus bringing Achilles to Chiron. B, Dionysos with maenads and silens. See p. 72.

28. Naples Stg. 186. A, Fig. 20. A, Herakles and Eurystheus. B, Athena mounting her chariot, with Herakles by. Latish.

29. Corneto R.C. 1052, from Corneto. A, Herakles and Eurystheus. B, Achilles and Ajax playing. In poor condition, especially B.
30. Corneto R.C. 2450, from Corneto. A, Poseidon and Giants. B, horsemen leaving home.
31. Corneto 662, from Corneto. A, Herakles and Athena. B, frontal chariot. Both sides fragmentary. Herakles stood on the left of A, but all that remains of him is bow and left foot to right; then comes Athena, then Iolaos, young.
32. Corneto R.C. 3015, from Corneto. A, frontal chariot. B, warrior leaving home, between two women.
33. Corneto R.C. 7453, from Corneto. A, Herakles and the Lion. B, birth of Athena. It is doubtful if the foot belongs. The attitude of Herakles and the Lion is that of the relief from Lampria: Athena stands behind the pair, Iolaos on the left, Hermes on the right looking round at them. On B, the moment before the birth is depicted: Zeus seated between two women, one of whom places her left hand over his head; on the left Hermes, on the right Ares.
34. Corneto 630, from Corneto. A, Judgment of Paris. B, warriors leaving home. A, the three goddesses and Hermes, and Priam preceding them, looking round, a wand in his hand. B, two warriors standing between two old men.
35. Corneto R.C. 1635, from Corneto. A, Herakles resting, and Athena. B, maenad (Ariadne ?) and athena. On A, downwards, *Τιμοθεος κελος* (Klein, *Licht*, p. 36, Timotheos No. 1).²⁴ The subject of A is the same as in the Munich amphora by the Andocides painter (2301: F.R. Pl. 4: see also Fortwängler, *ibid.*, I, p. 17) and a bf. neck-amphora in Castle Ashby (Gerhard A.F. Pl. 108). On the attitude of Herakles, with the left foot extended frontal, see my note to C.V.A. Oxford, Pl. I, 2.
36. Corneto R.C. 9991, from Corneto. A, Apollo and Artemis. B, Dionysos seated, with Hermes and a maenad. The subject of A is an uncommon one. Apollo and Artemis (I think Artemis, though Leto is also possible) are quite small, compared with the tall palm-trees, each with a stag beside it, to left and right of them: Apollo is playing the cithara, the goddess, wearing a polos, faces him, and a bird, no doubt a swan, flies over their heads. Apollo and his sister at Delos: perhaps thought of as children. In a similar scene on a bf. amphora, of the same period as ours, in Capt. Spencer-Churchill's collection, the figures are full-size: in the middle the palm-tree and a fawn beside it: to left, Apollo playing the lyre, to the right a woman holding a branch. On the reverse of the Corneto vase, Dionysos, with vine-branch and cantharos, sits to the left of the picture, Hermes faces him, and a maenad dances, looking round at Dionysos. Latish.
37. Corneto R.C. 970, from Corneto. A, Herakles and Cerberus. B, Aeneas and Anchises. Latish.
38. Corneto R.C. 1871, from Corneto. A, Herakles and Poseidon and Hermes. B, two riders. On A, Hermes moving to right, Herakles moving to right looking round, Poseidon standing l. Latish.
39. Formerly in the Roman market. Gerhard A.F. Pl. 72; drawings in the Berlin apparatus, x. 79. A, Judgment of Paris (Hermes conducting the three goddesses). B, warrior leading a woman away.
40. Formerly in the Roman market (Camelori). Gerhard A.F. Pl. 97, 1-2; drawings in the Berlin apparatus, x. 78. A, Herakles and Eurystheus. B, Ajax carrying the body of Achilles.

NECK-AMPHORAE OF SPECIAL SHAPE

Both vases differ from the normal neck-amphora in one point only: in 41 the handles are set off from the body at their lower attachment; in 42 they

²⁴ The other vase with this name, Klein's is St. Louis (Fortwängler, *Neue Denkmäler* No. 2, an ordinary neck-amphora, is now *antiker Kunst*, iii. p. 242).

are quadruple instead of triple. 42, like 18, has lotus-bud as well as tongues above the picture.

41. London B 247, from Vulci. Figs. 12, 13. A, Theseus and the Minotaur. B, frontal chariot. See p. 74.

42. London B 274, from Vulci. Fig. 18 and Pl. XII. 2. A, warrior mounting his chariot: B, youth with horses leaving home. See p. 80.

AMPHORAE OF PANATHENAIK SHAPE

Small. Ordinary decoration.

43. Vatican, from Vulci. *Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 42, 2. A, Athena: B, foot-race.

43 bis. New York 06. 1021. 51. B, Alexander, *Greek Athletics*, p. 22, 3. A, Athena: B, boxers.

Another panathenaic amphora, close to ours and to the Antimenes painter, is Berlin 1831 (Gerhard *A.B.* Pl. 7, a—b; B, museum phot.).

AMPHORA, TYPE B.

44. Formerly in the Roman market (Basseggio). Drawing in the Berlin apparatus, xii. 226. A, Athena seated, Herakles and Hermes: B, Dionysos seated, with silen and maenad. Above the pictures, lotus-bud pattern.

AMPHORA, TYPE A.

45. London B 203, from Vulci. A, Athena mounting chariot: B, Dionysos with maenads and silen. The foot modern. Above the pictures the usual palmette-lotus pattern. A small palmette at each handle.

HYDRIAI

There are occasional deviations from the norm, but nothing individual. The back-handle is always rounded, not ridged as it often is in late bf. hydriai. Mouth and foot usually the normal black torus: but 46 and 47 have peculiar feet, and use white on them: ⁵² 47 has a white mouth as well.⁵³ The usual scheme of pattern is tongues, black and red, above the shoulder-picture, a line at most beside it, a line above the principal picture, ivy beside it, below it a predella picture. Rays, of course, at the base. 46 and 57 have key-pattern, instead of a line, above the principal picture, 61 triple net, 49 bis a running labyrinth alternating with enclosed voided squares—a favourite pattern with archaic red-figure painters. 49 bis has double palmette and lotus-bud pattern at the sides of the principal picture. 58 has lotus-bud instead of a predella. 46 has black tongues round the base of the side handles, 49 bis the same on an offset ledge, 58 black tongues on the upper surface of the mouth. 46, 51, 56 and 61 have three feigned nail-holes on the mouth at the spring of the back-handle, 49 a pair.

⁵² See p. 67.

⁵³ Other bf. hydriai with white mouth: Würzburg 128 (Gerhard *A.V.* Pl. 315: key on it), Munich 1703 (not on it); Louvre

F 290 (not on it). Inscription on the mouth: hydria in Trieste signed Tychios epoiesen (Pien, *Vorleg.* 1889, Pl. 6, 1: phot. Alinari 40210).

46. London B 304, from Vulci. General view, Walters. *Ancient Pottery*, II. Pl. 49: the chief picture, *B.M. Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, 1st ed., frontispiece (omitted in the second edition) = our Pl. XIII. Harnessing chariot. Shoulder-picture, fight, with chariot. Predella, boar-hunt. See p. 67.

47. London B 316, from Vulci. Herakles and Apollo, the Struggle for the Tripod (Fig. 21). Shoulder-picture, warrior leaving home, with chariot. Predella, animals: lions and boars. The back-handle lost. The side of the foot concave, flaring, and white. The mouth white with an inscription in black. *Euphiletos kalos*, backwards (Klein, *Liedl.* p. 41, *Euphiletos* No. 1).²⁵

48. London B 340, from Vulci. Wedded pair in chariot (probably Pelens and Thetis). Shoulder-picture, fight, with wheeling chariot. Predella, animals: lions and boars. Latish.



FIG. 21.—HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, B 316: SHOULDER-PICTURE, CHARIOT.

49. London B 305, from Vulci. Harnessing chariot. Shoulder-picture, warrior leaving home, with chariot. Predella, Herakles and the Lion. The foot lost. A big blot on the nose of one of the horses. Some repainting. Late.

49 bis. London, South Kensington, Victoria and Albert Museum, 4795. 1901, from Vulci. Gerhard *A.V.* Pl. 138. Athena mounting chariot. Shoulder-picture, youth mounting chariot. Predella, Herakles and the Lion; and a youth with a horse. A good deal of restoration: the back-handle is ridged, but how much of it is ancient is hard to say.

49 ter. Norwich. Gerhard *A.V.* Pl. 93. Herakles and the Lion. Shoulder-picture, lawn-hunt. Predella, animals: panthers and goats. No inclusion or red in the predella. This excellent vase was formerly in the possession of a famous Norfolk man, Sir Henry Rider Haggard, who bought it in 1888 and presented it to the Castle Museum in 1920. The subjects—and the black figures—must have appealed to the creator of Allan Quatermain and Umslopogana.

²⁵ Klein gives another vase with the love-name *Euphiletos*, the prize panathenaic amphora B.M. B 124 (Walters, *B.M. Cat.* ii. Pl. 3; *C.V.A.* B.M. iii. Hc. Pl. 2, 2; B. *J.H.S.* 27, Pl. 18) von Brauchitsch (*Preisamphoren*, pp. 18–22) collects other panathenaic amphorae by the same hand: his no. 15 is in New York; Graef adds the fragment Athens Acr. 062: add a prize vase in the Hagos, Schramler collection (*Bulletin van de Vereniging*, I, p. 22). The

oinochoe Klein's No. 2, which bears the name of *Euphiletos*, but without *kalos*, is now in New York (Sambon, *Coll. Canessa*, p. 17). The name of *Euphiletos* also occurs on a plaque in Eleusis (*Eph.* 1888, Pl. 12, 2, whence Hoppin, *B.J. Vases*, p. 80), which is a generation earlier than the three vases with the name: here *Euphiletos* is usually supposed to have been followed by (*epoiese*)n or (*egraphus*)n.

50. Northwick Park, Captain Spencer-Churchill. Fig. 22. Departure, with chariot. Shoulder-picture, between eyes, light. Predella, animals: a boar between two panthers, and a swan.

51. Louvre F 285. Pottier, Pl. 82. Harnessing chariot. Shoulder-picture, Herakles and the Amazona. Predella, animals: lions and boars. Much restored: modern, part of 1's himation, 2's head and part of his helmet, part of 3's head and most of 4's and of the horses' heads.

52. Leyden 14e 28, from Vulci. Roulez, *Vases de Leyde*, Pl. 19: after Roulez, Schreiber, *Bilderatlas*, Pl. 21, 9, *Jahreshefte*, 2, p. 18, Fig. 10 (Beumdorf), Durenberg and Saglio, s.v. *ions*, Fig. 3144 (Miebon), Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 480, and Pfuhl, Fig. 286. New, Sudhoff, *Aus dem antiken Edeusesen*, pp. 59-61: new, Pl. XI. Youths at the bath. Shoulder-picture, warrior leaving home, with chariot. Predella, stag-hunt. *καὶ οὐκ ἀντιπρὸς* (Klein, *Liedl*, p. 48), *Schwee*. See pp. 63-4.

53. Berlin 1890, from Vulci. Pl. XIV. A man reclining, a woman beside him, men approaching him. Shoulder-picture, harnessing a chariot (Fig. 4). Predella, Herakles and the Lion. See pp. 69-70.

54. Berlin 1891, from Etruria. Wedded pair in chariot. Shoulder-picture, Theseus and the Minotaur. Predella, animals: lions and boars.

55. Berlin 1895, from Vulci. Gerhard, *E.G.V.* Pl. 14: Overbeck, *Gall. her. Bildw.* Pl. 9, 7. Judgment of Paris. Shoulder-picture, Achilles pursuing Troilus. Predella, Herakles and the Lion.

56. Munich 1694 (Jahn 130). Fig. 6. Harnessing chariot. Shoulder-picture, departure, with chariot. Predella, deer-hunt. Inscriptions *ἡμιτιος, ἀγχιθ(ε) . . . ἀγχιθ(ε)*. Not early. See pp. 67-9.

57. Munich 1691 (Jahn 64). Harnessing chariot. Shoulder-picture, Herakles and the Lion. Predella, animals: lions and boars. Moult, foot and base modern, and much of the drawing. The youth mounting the chariot is called Kallippos (*Καλλιππος*), the charioteer . . . *αἰμα*, the person behind him Ha(r)mippos, I think (Jahn reads *ἡμιτιος*): the third and fourth letters are doubtful, the youth at the horses' heads Ehippos. The letters are smaller than usual. Not early.

58. Munich 1696 (Jahn 58). Herakles and Apollo, the Struggle for the Tripod. Shoulder-picture, fight, with a man interposing.

59. Würzburg 134. Warrior mounting chariot. Shoulder-picture, Herakles and the Lion. Predella, animals: lions and boars. Latish.

60. Würzburg 132, from Vulci. *Mon. Ant.* 8, Pl. 24: the chief picture, *Αἰωνία* 10, p. 118 (Bendiselli). Birth of Athena. Shoulder-picture, fight at Troy, with chariots. Predella, riders. Latish. The shoulder-picture excellent.

61. Würzburg 135. Gerhard *A.V.* Pl. 40; *El. chr.* 3, Pl. 41. Demeter mounting chariot. Shoulder-picture, Herakles and Cerberus. Predella, animals: lions and boars. Inscription ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ. Latish.

62. Vatican, from Vulci. *Mus. Greg.* 2, Pl. 9, 2. Women at the fountain. Shoulder-picture, fight, with wheeling chariot. Predella, stag-hunt.

63. Vatican, from Vulci. *Mus. Greg.* 2, Pl. 7, 2. Herakles mounting chariot, with Athena by. Shoulder-picture, Herakles and the Lion. Predella, animals: lion between boars.

A word about the graffiti. The commonest is a ligature of lambda and epsilon, which occurs seven times, on Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7,⁵⁶ 12, 14, 41, although the catalogues record it only twice: Walters omits it in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 41, Furtwängler in 14. 1, 2, 3, and 41 are recorded by Haackl, as well as 7, and he gives other instances, mostly on black-figured vases of the same period

⁵⁶ The additional sign given by Ernest Gardner is modern.

as ours.³⁷ 27 has the same graffito except that the epsilon lacks the lowest bar and half the upright: Heydemann omits the graffito. 49 *ter* has the same as the rest, but with an extra stroke at the other end to the lambda, and a second graffito. 26 has a somewhat similar sign.³⁸

Next commonest is a graffito figured by Hackl,³⁹ which looks like a ligature of sigma, nu, and iota, but the nu might be a starved mu, as Hackl suggests, and the whole an abbreviation of some such proper name as Smikros or Smikythos. It occurs on 11, 16,⁴⁰ 20, and 28, as well as on vases by other painters. There are other graffiti on 4, 6, 12 (if the foot belongs), 13, 17, 22, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 48, 50, 54, 55, 60; but not twice the same.



FIG. 22.—HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B 316): HERAKLES AND APOLLO FIGHTING FOR THE TRIPOD.

The graffiti of 4, 6, and 48 are omitted by Walters in his catalogue, of 13 by Mayence in the *Corpus*. 21 and 59 have rough red dipinti.

I should have liked to be able to draw a line here, and say, these are the works of the Antimenes painter, and no other vase I have seen could possibly be his. But there are border-cases. One or two pieces I have hesitated before admitting. Others I have decided, after reflection, to exclude. The vases in the list which follows recall the Antimenes painter strongly; but in some of them the style is not so pronounced as in the vases which I have finally assigned to him; in others it seems to be mingled with alien elements.

³⁷ *Merkanale Inschriften in Münchener Arch. Studien*, p. 41, No. xlix.

³⁸ See Giglioli in the text to the vase.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, Pl. 1, 284.

⁴⁰ Given wrong in Jahn.

NECK-AMPHORAE

1. Louvre F 202. Pottier, Pl. 78: *C.V.A.* Louvre pl. 39, 2, 4 and 7. The pictures are on the shoulder of the vase: between eyes, A, Herakles and Eurystheus, B, Dionysos and silens.⁴¹
2. Corneto 648, from Corneto. A, Achilles and Ajax playing. B, Dionysos with silen and maenad. The neck lost: badly preserved.
3. Florence 3856. A, Judgment of Paris (Hermes conducting the goddesses): B, warrior ready to depart: extirpity.
4. Florence 3844. A, Herakles in chariot with Athena. B, Dionysos with maenad and silen.
5. Florence 70998. A, wheeling chariot. B, rider.

NECK-AMPHORA OF SPECIAL TYPE

6. Toronto. A, Cat. Sotheby, 21st June 1928, Pl. III. A, frontal chariot, with an archer beside it. B, fight: one of the two combatants is inscribed ΣΟΤΑΙΑ, that is, *Aux(r)ros*, is therefore Ajax, and the other may be Hector. The vase is larger than usual and has quadruple handles instead of triple: otherwise a normal neck-amphora.

HYDRIAI

7. Würzburg 133. Athena mounting her chariot. Shoulder-picture, departure, with chariot. Predella, animals: lions and boars. Above the main picture, key. On the mouth above, black and red tongues.
8. Würzburg 127. Warrior mounting chariot. Shoulder-picture, chariot. Predella, deer-hunt.
9. Munich 1722 (J. 136). Judgment of Paris. Shoulder-picture, Achilles and Troilos. Below the main picture, palmettes. Palmettes on the neck. Three nail-heads.
10. Naples 2777. Harnessing chariot. Shoulder-picture, Herakles and Kyknos. Predella, boar-hunt. Three nail-heads.
11. London B 336. Women at the fountain. Shoulder-picture, departure, with chariot. Predella, animals: lions and boars. The inscriptions with one possible exception are meaningless: they are genuine, but look as if they had been written in French hotel ink with a Waverley pen.
12. Villa Giulia 3556, from Falerii. Phot. Alinari 41184. Perseus and Medusa (*Περσεύς, Αθήνη*, both retrograde). Shoulder-picture, chariot-race. The handles missing. The foot, ancient, does not belong to the vase, but to a column-krauter. The decoration is peculiar: below the main picture, key and lotus-bud, then the rays: at the sides of it, not a pattern-band, but a design of palmettes: above it, key: the shoulder-picture runs right round the vase.

3 has the same graffito as Nos. 16, 20, and 28 in the Antimenes list: 1 has ΣΜ1, and 5 Μ1. 7, 8, 9 and 11 have a three-stroke sigma for graffito; 8 has another letter as well. 6 has a graffito.

⁴¹ Other neck-amphorae with the same type of decoration (the picture on the shoulder, with eyes) in London (B 216), New York (*A.J.A.* 1916, pp. 314-15), Boston (89.258: shape only, Caskey,

Geometry, p. 48), Bryn Mawr (*A.J.A.* 1916, p. 313), and Copenhagen, Wandel collection (*Sammlung Vogel*, pl. 2, 9). Miss Swineller calls the Bryn Mawr vase Ionic, but it is Attic like the rest.

A word about the relation of the Antimenes painter to his predecessors and contemporaries. With Exekias he has nothing to do: the art of Exekias is continued by a painter who worked for Andocides; and the art of that painter seems to be continued by those bold, strong, late black-figure artists whom I spoke of in the first sentence of this paper. In that line there is no place for the Antimenes painter. With the Amasis painter he has perhaps slightly more in



FIG. 23.—HYDRIA IN THE SPENCER-CHURCHILL COLLECTION: CHARIOT.

common, but it is impossible to establish a connexion. When we come to his contemporaries it is rather easier to place him. He is of the same breed as some of the earliest red-figure painters: on many red-figured eye-cups we find youths like his, short, plump, cheery, and guileless. But his real companion, one might almost think his brother, is the Menon painter. The amphora which bears the signature of Menon is red-figured; but that the painter also worked in black-figure is generally recognised. I append, in conclusion, a list of the vases, black-figured or red-figured, which seem to be by the Menon

painter: ⁴³ not merely by way of tailpiece, but because without it my account of the Antimenes painter would be incomplete.

AMPHORAE A

1. Brescia. Gerhard, *F.C.V.*, Pl. D, 1-3.
2. Munich 2302 (Jahn 373). *A is rf.* Shape, *F.R.* 1, p. 266; parts of A, *ib.* p. 151; handle-palmette, Lau, Pl. 12, 2; A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Fig. 166.
3. Madrid 11008 (Leroux 63). *A is rf.* *A.J.A.* 1896, pp. 5-6; *Jahreshefte*, 3, pp. 70-1; Leroux, Pls. 5-6; Hoppin, *Handbook*, 1, p. 34; Pfuhl, Figs. 317 and 284. Signed *Antimenes exoceros*.
4. Philadelphia 5399. *Rf. Philadelphia Mus. Journ.*, 5, pp. 32-3 and 35-6; after this, Hoppin, *Handbook of Rf. Vases*, ii, p. 203; A, Pfuhl, Fig. 318. Signed *Antimenes*.

NECK-AMPHORA. USUAL TYPE

5. London B 234. Part of A, *J.H.S.* 25, p. 276, Fig. 14.

NECK-AMPHORAE, A SPECIAL TYPE

6. Castle Ashby. *Burlington Cat.* 1888, Pl. 18, No. 18; after this Hoppin, *B.J. Vases* p. 51, and Pfuhl, Figs. 267-8. Signed *Antimenes exoceros*.
7. Louvre F 201. Potier Pl. 78: *Corpus Louvre III H e*, pl. 39, 5-6. Probably by the Menon painter: the third vase of this type is Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 38 (Inghirami, *V.F.* Pl. 231): my scanty notes do not enable me to say whether this is by the Menon painter or not.

HYDRIAE

8. Berlin 1897. Gerhard, *A.F.* Pl. 249-50; new, *F.R.* Pl. 154, 2.
9. Würzburg 138 (chariot of Admetos).

ROUND ARYBALLOS

10. Ones in Bologna. *Rf. Pellegrini, V.P.U.* p. 57.

WHITE ALABASTRA

11. Petrograd 381. Waldhauer, *K.O.* Pl. 2.
12. Munich 2294 (Herkles and the Amazons). (The third alabastron of just this shape and ornamentation is London 1900.6-11.1 (*Mitungen Perrot*, p. 282: picture in added colour).

WHITE LEKYTHOS

13. Paris market. *Coll. Dr. B. et M.C.* Pl. 16.

LID

14. Berlin 2037.

WHITE KYATHOS

15. Würzburg 313. (Between eyes and sphinxes, Dionysos and maenad.)

PLATES

16. Berlin 2099. *J.H.S.* 29, Pl. 10.
17. London B 589. *J.H.S.* 29, Pl. 11, 1.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

⁴³ Nos. 3 and 4 were put together by Buschor (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 152). No. 2 added by me (*V.A.* p. 6). No. 1 by Langlotz (*Zeitbestimmung*, p. 31, note 8). No. 10 by Pfuhl (*Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, p. 415). No. 8 by Zahn (in *FR.* iii,

p. 236). No. 17 by H. R. W. Smith (*A.J.A.* 1927, p. 83). 6, 11 and 13 I grouped together, and associated with the Menon painter without definitely attributing them to him, in *Att. Vas.*, pp. 9-10 and 467.

A SERIES OF TERRACOTTAS REPRESENTING ARTEMIS, FOUND AT TARENTUM

AMONG the many thousands of terracottas recently recovered from the soil at Tarentum, there is one large group which has not yet received much mention in print. I refer to a series of some hundreds of female statuettes which have been identified by Daemmler and Winter as Artemis figures.¹ The majority of these figures are at present in the Museo Nazionale at Taranto, though some few have found their way into museums elsewhere.

In the main type of the figures there is little variation. They usually range from eight to twelve inches in height, and are standing; female, draped figures each with one or more attributes. They all wear either a lion-skin² head-dress, or a lion-skin apron; some, indeed, show both the head-dress and the apron. Most of the examples are single-moulded statuettes with unmodelled back, but there are a few which are almost reliefs. The figurines are for the most part rough and not retouched after moulding, though there are some finely modelled exceptions to this rule.

The goddess usually stands straight to the front, either holding a doe or a stag in her arms (see Figs. 1 and 2), or with a doe, a stag or a dog on the ground beside her.³ This is the main type, though one or two of the later examples⁴ have more of the character of a relief showing the goddess leaning on a pillar or on a high altar with her legs crossed, and an animal seated on the ground beside her. In another example⁵ we see a female figure, unfortunately now

¹ Examples of the type are figured in Winter, *Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten*, vol. ii. p. 162; and also in *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.* vol. xi. Pls. LV, 1, and LV1, 11, and in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1883, Tav. d'Agg. P. 4 and 5. In January 1924 I visited Taranto (travelling under a grant from the University of Cambridge Craven Fund), and was able to take the notes upon which this article is based. Unfortunately Sig. Quagliati, the Director of the Museum there, refused to allow me either to have photographs taken or to take them myself. Consequently I regret that I have been unable to illustrate this article as well as I should have liked. My present illustrations I owe to the kindness of Dr. P. Herrmann, Director of the Albertinum, Dresden, who generously provided me with photographs of all the examples which his museum possessed. I should also like to express my gratitude to Mr. A. B. Cook of Queens'

College, Cambridge, who has helped me in writing this paper with many valuable suggestions.

² I shall throughout call these skins 'lion-skins,' but it should be borne in mind that they do not usually show the shaggy mane which is characteristic of the lion as distinct from the Hound and all the other members of the feline tribe, and which usually appears on the Herculean lion-skin. Consequently in the majority of our examples we should be more correct in speaking of the skin as a lioness' skin. Perhaps this is to be expected when we consider the sex of the goddess.

³ See Winter, *l.c.*, Fig. 6.

⁴ See, *e.g.*, Nos. 974 and 2908, Taranto Museum.

⁵ This example is in the Taranto Museum, but unnumbered. No. 2701 Taranto is similar but more fragmentary. I have not noticed any other examples. For the

headless, draped in a short Amazonian chiton with a lion-skin tied round her waist. By the right side of the figure there stands an altar, on the top of which is a small cult statue with a *kalathos* head-dress. The goddess leans her right arm, which holds a stag outwards, on the head of the cult statue. In her left hand she holds a bow. None of the examples so far discovered are prior to the fully developed art of the fifth century B.C. They range in date from that period down to the end of the third century B.C., following the usual fluctuations of style during that period.

The drapery of the figures sometimes takes the form of a full flowing robe reaching down to the ankles,⁶ and is of either the Doric or the Ionic type, but



FIGS. 1 AND 2.—ARTEMIS WITH LION HEADRESS; TERRACOTTAS IN DRESDEN.

more often it takes the form of the Amazonian hunting costume with the robe gathered up to the knees, and the feet either nude⁷ or shod with high hunting boots. The lion-skin apron which appears on many examples⁸ is held in place by the girdle. The animal's head falls on the goddess' waist and the forepaws on her thighs.

The head-dress usually consists of two parts (see Figs. 1 and 2). We have first of all a lion-scap on the forehead with the fore-paws of the beast falling on the goddess' shoulders and the hind-paws tied in a knot on her breast. Then above the lion-scap there is a pointed cap, which is sometimes plain and some-

whole motive we may compare the Larnaka statuette of Artemis now in Vienna, for which see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii. p. 524, and Pl. XXX, a.

⁶ See Winter, *l.c.*, Figs. 1, 2 and 6.

⁷ See Winter, *l.c.*, Fig. 7.

⁸ See Winter, *l.c.*, Fig. 6.

times bound by a sort of fillet or bandage. On some examples we find the lion-scalp alone, on others the cap alone, but the two usually appear in conjunction. The goddess' own hair appears from under the lion-scalp and is never completely covered by it. Her ears are sometimes pierced by ear-rings.

The commonest attributes that appear are the stag, doe, dog, bow and quiver. We find these either alone or in various combinations, *e.g.* bow and stag, bow and dog, dog and quiver. There is also another group of attributes which are far less common and which we may distinguish by the name of 'ritual' attributes. We find a torch alone, a torch and a basket of offerings, an oinochoe alone, or an oinochoe and a basket of offerings. These two groups



FIGS. 3 AND 4.—ARTEMIS TYPES: TERRACOTTAS FROM TARANTO IN DRESDEN.

of attributes are also found in conjunction. Thus we get, *e.g.*, a stag and a basket of offerings, a stag and a patera, a stag and an oinochoe, a bow and an oinochoe.

The frontal attitude of the figures and their general resemblance to other cult types of Greek art make it probable that these, too, were cult statuettes of a goddess. To what goddess were they then dedicated? The dress and the attributes of the figures lead one to think of Artemis or Hecate. No other goddess was habitually dressed in the short Amazonian chiton and high hunting boots. Nor can the combination of attributes be plausibly connected with any other deity. When it comes to a choice between these two goddesses I think we must unhesitatingly choose the former.* The absence on our figurines

* There is indeed a certain resemblance between the terracottas of this find and the figures of Hecate on the Apulian under-

world vases which Furtwängler and others claim to be of Tarentine manufacture, and we know (Hueyeb., *s.v.* 'Apoerres') that

of the special attributes of Hecate—whip, sword and keys—and the presence of the special attributes of Artemis—stag and doe—turn the scale conclusively in favour of Artemis.

Now there is no definite literary evidence for an Artemis cult at Tarentum. One epigram of Leonidas, the Tarentine poet,¹⁰ tells us of a dedication to Artemis, 'fairest daughter of Zeus,' but this need not necessarily apply to a Tarentine cult. Hesychius¹¹ mentions a cult of (Artemis) Κορυβαλία in Italy, but specifies no locality for it. Moreover, we know from Polybius¹² that a street in the ancient city was called Soteira, but this epithet was applied to many goddesses and need not necessarily refer to Artemis the 'Saviour.'¹³ Such evidence is all very frail and indefinite.

The artistic evidence for Artemis at Tarentum is even more frail. There is a series of terracotta antefixes from Tarentum¹⁴ showing a female head wearing a lion-scalp head-dress with two curved wings on either side. Viola¹⁵ and Lenormant,¹⁶ however, explain this as Omphale, after her change of apparel with Heracles. Others explain them as youthful types of Heracles himself, though some of them at least are undoubtedly female heads. From Tarentine coins we get no evidence for a cult of Artemis at Tarentum.

There was indeed a tradition at Taranto, mentioned by eighteenth-century travellers,¹⁷ that the monastery of the Celestine Order was built on the site of an ancient temple of Diana. This monastery was, however, situated in that part of Taranto which is now an island (i.e. the ancient Acropolis), and as our terracottas are found on the mainland,¹⁸ it is hardly possible that they were a deposit from that temple. Yet a tradition such as this must have some foundation on fact, so we must either assume that there were two temples of Artemis at Tarentum in Greek days, or else refer this tradition to a temple of Diana of Roman date.

there was a cult of Hecate, Ἰφάρκτες, at Tarentum. This might lead us to think that our terracottas also represent Hecate, but the resemblance to the vases need only signify that Hecate was affiliated to Artemis at Tarentum. For the vases see Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. X, and *Mon. d. I.*, vol. II, Pl. XLIX.

¹⁰ *Anth. Pal.*, 6, 280.

¹¹ s.v., Κορυβαίαι αἱ ἔχοντες τὰ ἐλάτια πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐπὶ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ ἰορταζόμεναι τῇ Κορυβαλίᾳ γυναικεί.

¹² 8, 36, 6.

¹³ Yet it is worthy of mention that Artemis Soteira was a common cult in Dorian states, e.g. Megara, Acragas, Syracuse, and Boeae in Lucania, and it may well have spread to Tarentum also. There is a statue dedicated to Artemis Soteira now in the B.M., which shows the goddess clad in a short chiton and a lawn-akin, and so resembles the type of our terracottas (see Farnell, *Culte*, vol. II, p. 535, and Pl.

XXXII, a).

¹⁴ One in Tar. Mus., and several others in the B.M. There are other examples in the Mus. Chigi, Siena. For these last see Milani, *Studi e Materiali*, vol. I, p. 150, Nos. 63 and 64 (Pellegriani).

¹⁵ *Not. Scav.*, 1881, p. 433.

¹⁶ *Gaz. Arch.*, 1881, p. 166.

¹⁷ Baron Rindstedt, *Travels through Sicily*, etc., Eng. trans. by J. R. Forster, p. 175: see also Henry Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, who mentions this tradition in his account of Taranto.

¹⁸ This is at least certain, though when I was at Taranto I was unable to discover their exact provenance. Many of the terracottas of our type found their way to Naples, Oxford and German museums in company with 'funeral banquet' and 'horseman' types, and as these were found to the west of the Arsenal in the centre of the new town, probably our figures came from there also.

In spite of this lack of external evidence, Duemmler¹⁹ has no hesitation in naming these figures, of which he saw forty examples, Artemis, basing his identification on the attributes which accompany the figures. Winter²⁰ also gives several illustrations of the type and, with Duemmler, identifies them as Artemis.²¹

We may then take it that Duemmler and Winter are right in their identification of these statuettes as Artemis. That being so, there are several points in connexion with the types that call for comment.

First as to the lion-skins. In Greek art the lion is often connected with Artemis. The earliest example in date is that of the Persian or winged Artemis type,²² showing Artemis in her capacity of *πότνια θηρῶν*. We see the goddess again as *πότνια θηρῶν* in connexion with lions and many other animals on a series of terracottas of fifth-century B.C. style found in Corfu.²³ These show the goddess clad in a long or short chiton and armed with a bow and quiver. The animals either stand on the ground beside her or are held by the goddess in various positions. On other examples from the same find the goddess appears rather as huntress than as *πότνια θηρῶν*, for she holds a dead lion head downwards by the hind legs. In early Greek art the conception of Artemis as *πότνια θηρῶν* greatly predominates, whereas in later times, especially in the Hellenistic period, she was more usually depicted as the huntress. These Corfu terracottas show the period of transition, and they give us almost the earliest instances of Artemis clad in a short hunting chiton.²⁴

Turning to literature, we find that the lion is repeatedly connected with Artemis from Homer downwards. In *Iliad* 21, 483, Hera says to Artemis,

ἐπὶ σε λέοντα γυναιξὶν
Ζεὺς θῆκεν, καὶ ἔδωκε κατακτάμεν ἥρ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα.

The usual explanation of this phrase is that it refers to Artemis in her character of death-dealing goddess to women, the lion metaphor denoting her ferocity.

¹⁹ He gives two illustrations, *Mon. d. I.*, 65, 1, and *Ann. d. Inst.*, p. 5.

²⁰ *Ic.*

²¹ In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford there are two of these figures, head and shoulders only, with the lion-skin head-dress, and they are there labelled Hera Lakonia. There does not seem to be any clear reason for such an identification when we consider the more complete examples of the type. The type usually recognised as Hera Lakonia on the coins of Croton and other cities of South Italy shows that goddess in a veil and *stephane*. The usual attributes of Hera in Greek art are the *stephane*, pomegranate, peacock and sceptre, none of which appear on any of our terracottas. Nor does Hera ever appear clad in the short chiton and hunting boots. It is true that the cult of Hera Lakonia was apparently widespread in Magna Graecia:

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still, we must look elsewhere than to these terracottas if we wish to find traces of it at Tarentum.

²² See, e.g., Artemis on one of the handles of the François vase, and further, see Panly-Wiasowa, s.v. Artemis, col. 1438.

²³ For a full account of these figures see Lechat, *B.C.H.* 1891, p. 11, and for the lion types see especially pp. 82 and 83, and Plates II, 2 and 4, and V, 2.

²⁴ For further instances of the lion in connexion with Artemis see the accounts of the votive offerings found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta: M. S. Thompson, *J.H.S.*, 1909, p. 293 f. (representations in lead of the Persian Artemis type); and Farrell, *B.S.A.*, vol. xiv, p. 63, Fig. 6 (terracottas very similar to those from Corfu). See also Para. 9: 17, 2 (lion sculptured in stone in front of the temple of Artemis Enklia at Thebes).

In Aeschylus (*Agam.* 140) she is called a 'kindly goddess to fierce lions' broods.' This is manifestly Artemis as πότνια θηρῶν. Then there is a reference in Theocritus (2, 67) to a tite of Artemis

τῇ δὲ τόκα πολλά μὲν ἄλλα
θηρία πομπέουσιν περισταδόν, ἐν δὲ λείαια.

This passage refers to an Artemis cult at Syracuse, where the goddess was worshipped especially as Alpheiaia, the goddess of the mere,²⁵ in connexion with Arethusa. We find thus that the lion was connected with Artemis under several of her aspects, and we need have no hesitation in ascribing the name of Artemis to these statuettes because of the prominence of the lion-skin.

Yet we have as yet found no direct parallels to our types among the extant remains of Greek art. The nearest that we have got to a parallel is that series of terracottas from Corfu which show Artemis holding a lion, alive or dead. But we can get nearer parallels than that. There are some terracottas from Acrae and Centuripae in Sicily²⁶ showing Artemis in hunting garb and accompanied by a lion. These are direct parallels to the Corfu type. But there is one that goes further. It is a head and shoulders fragment showing the paws of a lion-skin knotted over the right shoulder, a motive very similar to that of the Tarentine figures. We get further examples of this from Syracuse.²⁷ Some fragments amongst these show part of a lion-skin worn by the goddess. There is a statue of Artemis in the Duc d'Alba's collection at Madrid²⁸ showing the goddess in an Amazonian chiton with a lion-skin tied on her breast, and there is a similar statue in Copenhagen²⁹ with a lion-skin tied over the goddess' right shoulder. I can, however, only find one possible parallel to Artemis in a lion-skin head-dress, and that is on a vase of Apulian type,³⁰ where the goddess wears hunting costume and a head-dress which appears to be either a lion-skin or a panther-skin. In all these examples the short chiton to the knees as well as the attributes of the goddess leave no room for doubt that Artemis is meant.

²⁵ Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 12, where he refers to Syracuse as ποταμὸς ἰσὺς Ἀλφειάδης. The lion was regarded by the Greeks as an emblem of the chthonic powers, in which connexion lions were sculptured on tombs. Hence the lion came to be connected with springs and water which rise out of the ground, and we might thus explain his connexion with Artemis Alpheiaia. For a further discussion of the lion in Greek religion in a chthonic connexion see A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.* 1894, p. 103 ff., and especially p. 109 f. It is to that article that I am indebted for the above references.

²⁶ See Kekulé, *Die Terrakotten von Sicilien*, Pl. XXIV, 2 and 3. Cf. also Pl. XXV, 1, with note *ad loc.*

²⁷ See Orsi, *Not. Scav.*, 1900, p. 360 ff. and Fig. 18.

²⁸ Figured by Arndt, *Einzelabnahmen*, No. 1797; also Reinach, *Répertoire de la*

Statuaire, 4, p. 188, 2.

²⁹ See Reinach, *op. cit.*, 4, p. 187, 4, and Ny-Carlsberg *Glypt.*, *Album de Planches*, Pl. VII (80).

³⁰ Reproduced in *Arch. Zeit.* 1849, Pl. XII. See also for the figure of Artemis alone, *Dar. Sagl.* s.v. Diana. The whole scene is a representation of the meeting of Orestes and Iphigenia in Taurica. As the reproductions are bad, it is impossible to be sure whether the head-dress is a lion-skin or a panther-skin. It may be remarked in passing that Artemis is often similarly represented clad in a fawn-skin, as, e.g., on the statuette in the B.M. quoted above (Farnell, *Culte*, vol. II, Pl. XXXII, σ). So too on the statue of Artemis made by Damophon for the temple of Despoina at Akakesion in Arcadia, and also on the relief in the Ny-Carlsberg Museum at Copenhagen quoted below.

The only other part of the dress of the Tarentine figurines that calls for comment is the pointed cap. This is very like the Phrygian type of cap so common on Greek monuments, and is found elsewhere on figures of Artemis. We see it, for instance, on some of the statuettes of Artemis from Sicily figured by Kekulé,²¹ and again on a relief in the Ny-Carlsberg Museum at Copenhagen.²² The latter comes from the Piræus and depicts Artemis Bendis. Further examples are figured by Orsi in his account of the sanctuary of Artemis at Syracuse.²³ It is the same type of cap that is so commonly worn by the Dioscuri, and was used also by boatmen and others engaged in open-air pursuits.

Turning to the attributes of the figures, we find that those connected with hunting, the bow and quiver, stag and dog, are by far the commonest. These are so commonly found in connexion with Artemis that no comment is necessary here. Their presence is not necessarily indicative that the figurines were dedicated to Artemis the huntress, or that such a conception of the goddess was uppermost in the minds of her Tarentine worshippers. After the fifth century B.C. they came to be used as symbols to distinguish Artemis from other goddesses, just as the lyre was used to distinguish Apollo, and the trident Poseidon. Neither can the attributes of the second group be with certainty considered distinctive of any special function of the deity. The torch is a very common attribute of Artemis under many of her aspects. The other three attributes in this group have merely ritual significance.

Can we then decide whence this Artemis cult came to Tarentum and hazard any conclusions as to its nature? In dealing with Tarentine cults, it must always be borne in mind that the city was a colony of Sparta, founded, as the story goes, by the Partheniæ in the eighth century B.C. The Tarentines, following the universal custom of Greek colonists, are known to have been very tenacious of the cults of their mother city. Polybius²⁴ tells us, for instance, that an important cult at Tarentum was that of Apollo Hyakinthios, and this cult the Tarentines must have brought with them from Amyklæ in Laconia. Poseidon, Zeus and Athena were also prominent in both states, and among the lesser deities we may cite Heracles and the Dioscuri. Hera, Aphrodite, Hephaestus and Hermes, on the other hand, do not seem to have taken a great hold on either the parent or the daughter city. Now the cult of Artemis was very deep-rooted in Laconia, so that we should expect to find her cult prominent in Tarentum also. Herein lies the importance of our terracottas. Though literary evidence is altogether lacking, the number of these terracottas brought to light shows that there was at least one important sanctuary of Artemis at Tarentum.

Wide,²⁵ after an examination of the Laconian cults of Artemis, is led to the conclusion that she often had, amongst her other aspects, a chthonic connexion in that locality. Now we know that at Tarentum chthonic cults were in great favour. The great majority of the terracottas found at Tarentum

²¹ *Op. cit.*; see his Plates XI, 6, and XIII, 1 and 4.

²² See Arndt, *Mém. Antiques de la Glypt. Ny-Carlsberg*, Pl. LXXXVIII.

²³ See Orsi, *Not. Scav.*, 1900, p. 365, Fig. 8.

²⁴ Polybius, 8, 30.

²⁵ See S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 135 ff.
n 2

belong either to a cult of Demeter and Persephone which was certainly chthonic, or else to the group of 'funeral banquet' terracottas. Connected with the latter group is a series of Dioscuri reliefs depicting a *θεοξενία*, which also has a chthonic significance. Would it not then be natural if in their worship of Artemis too the Tarentines preserved that chthonic aspect which she possessed, according to Wide, in Laconia? The vogue of Pythagoreanism and Orphic cults at Tarentum and other cities in Magna Graecia probably tended to foster chthonic cults in that region.

Does the internal evidence of our terracottas tally with this suggestion? The lion-skin aprons and head-dresses on these figurines seem to indicate that there was originally a lion cult at Tarentum to which the cult of Artemis, the *πάρεια θηρῶν*, was later affiliated.³⁶ The memory of the older cult was preserved by dressing the goddess in a lion-skin. The lion was in ancient times regarded as symbolical of the chthonic powers and of the powers of vegetation and production; in both of which aspects he came to be connected with Dionysus and with the various mother-goddesses, Cybele, the Ephesian Artemis, Cyrene and the rest.³⁷ Consequently the connexion of the lion with this Tarentine cult may well be a sign that this cult had similar aspects.

The conclusions, therefore, which we draw from these considerations are that there was in all probability at Tarentum an original lion cult either indigenous or introduced by some pre-Dorian colonists: ³⁸ that the Spartan colonists brought with them a cult of Artemis to some extent chthonic in aspect, and that this Artemis was affiliated to the lion cult of the older inhabitants.

There remains but one more point that must be mentioned in conclusion. None of this series of terracottas can be dated prior to the fifth century, so that the sanctuary in which they were dedicated was probably of fifth-century foundation. In the case of the Demeter and Persephone terracottas found at Tarentum, archaic examples are just as common as those of fifth-century and later styles. Consequently had the sanctuary of Artemis existed in the archaic period we should surely have found some earlier types of the statuettes.³⁹ It was just at this period, in the fifth century B.C., that the conception of Artemis as huntress was becoming the recognised type of the goddess, and this would explain the prominence of hunting attributes on the figures. The sanctuary of Artemis discovered at Syracuse by Orsi forms a striking parallel. Orsi shows reasons for believing, from an examination of the terracottas which he found in

³⁶ A parallel to such an affiliation of cult may be drawn from Ambracia, where, we are told, Artemis was originally worshipped in the form of a lioness. See for this Antoninus Liberalis, 4. Cf. also the Callisto myth in Arcadia, which seems to point to the goddess Artemis being affiliated to an original bear cult.

³⁷ See A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.*, 1894, p. 103 ff., where he discusses this point very fully.

³⁸ There is both archaeological and traditional evidence for a Cretan settlement at Tarentum.

³⁹ In this connexion it should be mentioned that two other groups of cult terracottas found at Tarentum likewise show no examples prior to the fifth century B.C. in date. These are the figures of Apollo and the Muses, and the Dioscuri and 'hercuman' types. Perhaps the rise of the Tarentine power and dominion after the democratic revolution early in the fifth century B.C. may explain this fact. Political prosperity would lead to the building of new temples and the revival of old cults.

that sanctuary, that Artemis was worshipped there not under one or two of her aspects only, but under almost every one of her aspects. In all probability there was a similar harmonising of different functions of the goddess at Tarentum when the new sanctuary was founded in the fifth century B.C. Artemis gradually came to be regarded in Greece as the protectress of man, the goddess who provided him with all he needed and watched over him from birth until death, and it was probably in this widest sense as ἡ Σώτειρα that she was worshipped in this Tarentine sanctuary from the fifth century B.C. onwards.

D. B. HARDEN.

THE TRAVELS OF 'PALMYRA' WOOD IN 1750-51

(PLATES XV-XIX.)

THROUGH the generosity of the descendants of Robert Wood (1716-71) the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies now possesses a number of note-books, diaries, sketch-books, etc., the records of a long tour which he made in 1750-51, in the company of John Bouverie and James Dawkins, and which bore fruit in Wood's publications of the ruins of Palmyra (1753), of Baalbec (1757) and in his *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* (1767).

Little is known of Wood's history before this tour;¹ according to Horace Walpole he was originally a travelling tutor, and from scattered references in his published works and in his note-books we learn that between May 1742 and the spring of 1743 he had made a long tour which embraced Constantinople, many of the islands in the Aegean Sea, Egypt and some towns in Syria and Mesopotamia. He himself tells us it was for this reason that Messrs. Bouverie and Dawkins, with whom he had travelled in Italy, invited him to accompany them.² The diaries and note-books shew that he was a born traveller with a quick eye for the salient features of a landscape and a keen appreciation of its natural beauties. He was also an excellent classical scholar, and, as such, interested in the identification of ancient sites and in the inscriptions found there, but this interest was literary rather than antiquarian; his real interest lay in comparing the statements of ancient geographers and modern travellers with the physical conditions as he found them, above all in identifying any river he crossed and, wherever possible, tracing it to its source.

Messrs. Bouverie and Dawkins were Oxford graduates, young men of wealth and leisure with cultivated tastes, close personal friends. John Bouverie was the archaeologist of the party, and his death at Guzel Hissar on September 19, 1750, was a great loss to the expedition. James Dawkins (1722-57) belonged to a wealthy West Indian family; Johnson³ alludes to him as 'Jamaica' Dawkins. He helped to finance Stuart and Revett's project of visiting Athens and also the publication of their work. He appears to have been an energetic person with a taste for detail, and after his return to Europe supervised the preparation of the finished drawings and the plates for the publications on Palmyra and Baalbec. It was to him Wood addressed the letter

¹ For a full account of Wood's life after 1751, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. The diaries shew that the details of this tour as there given are not quite exact. The writer hardly does justice to the real value of Wood's *Essay on Homer*. See Jobb, *Introduction to Homer*, p. 107.

² *Ruins of Palmyra*: 'To the Reader.'

³ Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1792 edit.).

Vol. IV, p. 130. 'The only great instance that I have ever known of the enjoyment of wealth was that of Jamaica Dawkins, who, going to visit Palmyra, and hearing that the way was infested by robbers, hired a troop of Turkish horse to guard him.' A full account of Dawkins' other interests is given in the *D.N.B.*, s.v.

which is the original draft of the *Essay* on Homer, and it was probably owing to his death at the end of 1757 that Wood published nothing more. The fourth member of the party was an Italian draughtsman named Torquilino Borra.

This paper deals only with the contents of the diaries and sketch-books,⁴ the value of which lies not in the minute geographical details which occupy fully half their pages, but in the careful records of the ancient sites visited. The party were the first Europeans who record the ruins at Iné (Inek-Bazar), afterwards identified as Magnesia ad Macandrum, or who visited and described the ruins of Ceramos on the N. side of the Gulf of Stanchio, while their very detailed account of the temple of Artemis at Sardis fills up an important gap in the record of its destruction.

Each of the travellers kept a diary, specialising in his own subjects: Wood on the topography of a site and its inscriptions, Bouverie on its monuments and Dawkins on the local conditions, fauna, flora, etc.; he also wrote up the official record of the tour, a compilation from all the diaries, garnished with appropriate classical quotations and much recondite information. Wood's copy of it is contained in six quarto volumes bound in green vellum and one paper-covered book. Vols. 1-3 and the paper-covered book are transcribed in an ornate hand by someone who was often puzzled by his strange text;⁵ the other volumes were copied by Wood's daughter, to whom it was a labour of love. We have also several of the separate diaries, three by Wood, one by Bouverie, and, possibly, one by Dawkins. There are three sketch-books with measured plans, architectural details and 'prospects' which Borra took wherever possible, for, as Wood truly observed at Sardis, 'a plan of ruins or a view is much more agreeable to the reader than following the traveller thro' a tedious dry description which is often like the original in nothing else than its unconnected unintelligible disorder.' A few of his drawings are here reproduced.

The travellers met in Rome in the autumn of 1749, and after spending some months in the study of such subjects as would be useful to them in their tour, went down to Naples to await the ship which had been chartered for them in London. The first entry in the official diary runs:—'Our ship the *Matilda* about 160 tons, Richard Puddie Commander, joyn'd Us at Naples the latter end of April. We judg'd it necessary to make some additional Accommodations in her which detain'd Us there till Tuesday May 5th N.S. 1750, when in Company with Messrs. Bouverie, Wood & Borra We set sail from thence at seven o'clock in the Evening ditto, with a fair Breeze.'⁶

⁴ A detailed catalogue of the 'Wood Donation' is given in the last list of accessions to the Society's library, *J.H.S.* (1928), xlv, Pt. II, p. lxxii. *Suppl. III to the Subject Catalogue*. Mr. M. N. Tod proposes to examine the epigraphical material, and Mr. Moncreaf of the University of St. Andrews is making a special study of Wood's notes on the Homeric question.

⁵ 'Circolagus' (= sarcophagus), 'mule

administration' (= maladministration), and 'hight from onto ryechies' (= high promontory reaches) are fair specimens of the scribe's guesses at truth.

⁶ Mr. Bouverie had three personal servants. Mr. Dawkins probably also had three and Mr. Wood at least one, so it is not surprising that whenever the *Matilda* stayed in port for more than a few hours the party 'lay ashore.'

Vol. 1. *Naples to Smyrna*. May 5th—18th, 1750.

Drawings: Naples, Panorama of, from the Sea; Plan, measurements and view of Mausoleum of Virgil; Grotto of Posilippo; Plan and view of Crater of Vesuvius; Stromboli, Scilla, Myssena, Regio.

The travellers were becalmed off Stromboli and went ashore there, but from thence had a prosperous voyage⁷ of thirteen days to Smyrna, which they reached at six o'clock on the 18th May, after spending a few hours on the 17th at the site of Clazomenae.

Smyrna. May 18th-25th.

⁷ We waited on Mr. Cawley our Consul etc. and laugh'd off the congratulatory Compliments of the other Consuls. They are so ridiculously absurd as to mean to merit a Visit because sent by a rascally Druggoman instead of a footman. But such formalities prevail here among the Franks that if indulg'd would be very irksome to a Traveller.⁸ They visited the Castle, Circus, Theatre and Acqueducts, and traced the course of the R. Meles. The stones of the Theatre had been demolished by the Turks and carried off for building purposes within the memory of the English residents; by the entrance to the Castle, placed in the wall, was 'an antique colossal head a good deal damaged which they call the Amazon the suppos'd Foundress of Smirna,'⁹ but they were somewhat disappointed as the place 'affords hardly anything in matter of Antiquity' and on May 25th started for Sardis.

Smyrna to Sanderli (Elaeatic Gulf). May 25th-June 9th. (Sardis, Thyatira, Pergamon.)

Drawings: Bridge near Hadjilar; View of Castaba.

Mr. Bouverie's diary begins, 'Being resolv'd on an inland Jaunt y^e Gentlemen of y^e Factory accompany'd Us half-way to Hagislar.¹⁰ We went on to a pleasant spot where We pitch'd Our first Tent. The 26th We tented beside a fine Stream near Cashaba where We were entertain'd with a Concert of Toades & Frogs.'¹¹ That day they rode across the plain of Nymphe,¹² and five hours from Hadjilar passed a stately bridge of which five arches still remained. At

⁷ When Wood sailed from Venice in 1742, the ship lost her topmast in trying to weather Cape St. Angelo (Malta) and was becalmed for several days off the Isola di Finocchia, to the distress of the Captain, 'who told us the Magnotes were such plunderers they would come at night and cut the cable if they could steal nothing else.'

⁸ All the diarists spell place-names differently and Borra always Italianises them.

⁹ Dawkins adds that at Diana's Baths (Pegg's Hole) they drank punch with their escort. Mr. Bouverie's outfit for this trip is given on the fly-leaf of his diary, viz. 8 pairs of riding stockings, 4 Indian dimity waistcoats (16 buttons), 4 striped

apitalfield's linnen do., Nankin coats, shoes, jumps, boots, thread stockings, bob-wig and two bagg'd, breeches, cydar, beer, vin de bordeaux, french brandy, cask of potatoes.

¹⁰ Dawkins puts it rather differently. 'The murmur of the Stream was drown'd by the damn'd creaking and squawking of Toades and Frogs.'

¹¹ 'We got on an Eminence under an Oak which however it shelter'd Us from the Sun could not defend Us against a most damnable hot wind which seem'd to come out of an Oven very strong & quite suffocating.' The usual day's journey was 6½-7½ hours (= about 20 miles). They travelled until 10 a.m., rested until two o'clock, and went on after dinner.

Castaba they saw inscriptions and broken statues. Two hours after dinner on the 27th they reached Sardis.

Sardis. May 27th-June 2nd.

Drawings: Plan and view of site, building with piers; plan of the 'Pallace'; views of bridge (with elevation), theatre, circus. Temple: view and plan of E. porch; details of capital; cornice and frieze of anta-cap; impost of lintel; architrave with soffit; base of column with decoration of torus.

The entries here are very full; it was the first important site visited and the topography of earlier travellers needed correction. We have detailed information about the Ionic temple which (with the help of the Reports¹² of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis) enable us to elucidate Chandler's statement that six complete columns were still standing at the time of Wood's visit and that he excavated one to find the base. Wood's diary for May 28th begins, 'We resolv'd to climb up to the Hill over the Town where the building call'd the Castle is, from thence to take the situation of the old forms & the Environs & accordingly spent the Morning in putting this into Execution.' A comparison of their plan (Pl. XV. 2) with that given in the American Report¹³ shews that though the natural features and the ruins are accurately placed in their relation to each other, the necessary adjustment between the magnetic North and the true North has not been made (unless, as Wood says, there was some extraordinary variation in their compass). The official diary continues the story: 'In the afternoon we visited the Ionic Temple (a).¹⁴ And the exquisite Taste of the Capitals & most excellent Workmanship invited Us to resolve (by digging) to get at the Members &c. So we reconnoitr'd the other Ruins this Evening; Lower down to the Northward on the eastern Bank of the River is the Village Sart (b) compos'd of twenty poor Hutts; a little lower down the stream is the ruin'd Bridge (Pl. XVI), which, where there is the appearance of an Arch, is thirty-two feet wide but the side next to the Plain tho' contiguous seems not to have been Arch'd, there is a piece of an Ionick Cornish with Modillions (continued about halfway higher than the spring of the Arch) in the other part, but as tis compil'd chiefly of other ruins there is no forming a Judgment of Its Antiquity, only that tis not Vero Antico. We proceed to the Eastward a quarter of a mile, We are now a good half mile North of the foot of the Castle Hill or more, first We visit the vast Ruins of a spacious & magnificent Fabriek, which We suppose to have been a Pallace (c), of which see our Plan &c.¹⁵ there are the Walls of four or five fine proportion'd Rooms now standing, And the Traces of several more to a vast extent the Walls are thirteen feet & odd Inches in some Places, built of excellent Brickwork & ornaments of white Marble as may be seen from the prodigious quantity of It lying about, & some fine Granite Pillars; This is truly Ancient built of materials design'd for

¹² *Sardis*, Vol. I., *The Site*; Vol. II., Pt. I., *The Temple of Artemis*. The Wood material was unknown until after the publication of the Reports. Copies of the diaries and a set of photographs of Berra's drawings have been placed at the disposal of the Editors.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., Ill. 18.

¹⁴ The italic letters in the text give the references to Berra's plan.

¹⁵ *c* = B on the American plan, *d* = C, *e* = D, *f* = A. A plan and full measurements of *c* are given and a plan of *d* as well as the view (Pl. XVII).

the Place; as well as the four solid marble Piers (*d*) (a little distant) in a line supporting a Brick Arch (formerly eased perhaps) now ruin'd (Pl. XVII), which form'd a kind of Portico with a Tambour or Tribune at each end, which We conjecture to have been some publick Court of Judicature or the like: Something nearer the Hill are other six Piers in two Rows very solid but are a Pasticio of fragments some good pieces of Entablature in It &c.^a (*e*) The Circus is near It to the south at the foot of the Castle Hill the form of It is pretty evident, the Arches that supported the seats on the lower side (the N One) & on the East end now only remain, but there is a Traverse of high ground on the West end seemingly occasion'd by ruins, from which We risqu'd a measure by Paces finding It about 270 in length & in breadth: on the upward side of the Circus towards the East end there is a semicircular opening in the Hill rising behind like the Slope of a Theatre¹⁰ with the two Walls terminating at each its sides E & W & which range with the south side of the Circus, & the Theater fronts nearer North than any other Point, & tho' greatly defac'd yet its form shews it to have been no large One: to the West of that again is a wider space by some imagin'd a Hyppodrome (*f*),¹¹ I cannot say much in favour of the materials or size of these last & doubt whether They were of the best Ages. Along under the Hill are several other scattered heaps of brick & stone whose Interest can't be guess'd at (*g*); And from near the Pactolus Bridge at frequent Intervals are the traces of an encompassing Wall running Eastward till It had included all the ruins mention'd, & then turning up to the N.E. corner of the Castle Hill, where It disappears: this seems to have been the Bounds of the latter City that way, the Wall being probably of those days; It is compos'd chiefly of Pebbles & Mortar: Half a furlong beyond the most eastern part of the Wall is an exceeding solid substantial foundation of a Building that has the appearance of greater Antiquity than any of the rest; Whose Walls & Arches are of prodigious thickness & strength built of large stones of the nature of a coarse Travertine; On one side of the Body is visible the foundation of a Circular Room with probability tho' not traces of a corresponding One on ye Other. It is call'd a Church by the Inhabitants of Sart, but We could not conjecture what It may have been.

Wood's diary contains a detailed description of the walls of the Acropolis and the remains of the Castle. A view of Sardis looking N. (Pl. XV, 1) shews the various antiquities. Three of the marble bases of *d* appear in the foreground. Local tradition was supplied by their guide, the Aga of the village, who informed them that 'the Ionick Temple & other Antiquitys were built by the Genoese about four or five hundred years ago by so great a Number of Workmen that they consum'd while building the Ionick Temple (which he says was the Summer house for their Prince) a hundred Bushells of Salt every day.'

Bouverie's account of the Ionic Temple is the most detailed, but for the sake of brevity I omit most of his comments and conjectures. '6 Pillars only remain upright (Pl. XVIII) all save one with y^e Capitals & wonderfully sharp & well preserv'd except where y^e corners are broke off probably by y^e Entab-

¹⁰ Plans and drawing.

¹¹ 'Gymnasium,' is now occupied by villagers.

¹² This building, now known as the

lature's falling when y^e rest of y^e building was destroy'd by an earthquake 2 of these are joyn'd by y^e Architrave to a Pilaster & bit of wall w^h serves to shew w^h way y^e body of y^e temple ran, y^e Capital of y^e Pilaster is beautiful & unusual y^e joyn'ts of all y^e stones remarkably well polish'd & set together & y^e wall extending from y^e Pilaster haniato we measured the length of one bit of Architrave feet 20. in 3, diameter of y^e Columns at about a third from their bases f.6.in.4 but not all equal, see our view, plan and measures (Pls. XVIII, XIX, and Fig. 1) w^h we took more complete by digging to y^e Base of one of y^e Pillars. Of what we imagine the façade there are 3 Pillars standing in a line fronting nearly y^e E.S.E. at right angle with y^e 1st two Columns & Pilaster, y^e 6 Pillar is opposite that of these last w^h stands next y^e Pilaster, between w^h we took y^e measure of y^e Temple's body & digging round y^t we found a piece of y^e other Pilaster fallen but little out of y^e place where it regularly ought to stand. digging likewise where we imagin'd y^e front wall of y^e temple might be we light upon one stipite of y^e door handsomely ornamented between y^e front pillars w^h beginning at y^e north Corner are y^e 1st, 6th, 7th is y^e appearance of 4 more above ground y^e greater part too of whose ruins are lying upon y^e surface or half buried, but no vestiges of y^e 8th, w^h is wanting at y^e southern corner to make y^e front complete. y^e Capital of y^e 6th front Pillar is thrown a good deal out of its perpendicular & twisted almost half round by some accident probably Earthquakes, but in no present danger of falling. it differs from y^e rest likewise in having y^e two middle gutters of y^e Volute adorn'd with fishes scales (Pl. XIX, 1) instead of usual Campana. y^e flanks of y^e Volutes were divided into 4 gutters with 2 Astragali & Listelli between each w^h was probably on account of y^e great size & has a mighty good effect. Torquilino [Borra] thinks all were intended to be squamm'd but I can hardly be of y^e opinion seeing they are perfectly finish'd & are otherwise different in y^e Roses & Caulicoli (Pl. XIX, 2). We observ'd Fishes Scales too on part of a Capital fallen down but from w^h Pillar cou'd not tell, y^e Portico at this rate was 3 Pillars deep besides y^e Pilasters & at least an intercolumnio of Wall w^h is now visible without a return for y^e face of y^e Temple & as y^e width of y^e Body employ'd only 4 of y^e front Pillars, consequently there were two of each side that extended beyond it w^h gives reason to suspect a Peristilio all round y^e Temple. We dug down about ft. 22 [23 ft. 5 in.] to discover y^e Base of a Pillar w^h found a good deal different from y^e regular Ionic Base, consisting of more Members & less Projection most likely to disencumber y^e spaces as much as possible, y^e upper Toro was adorn'd with scales pointed upwards (Pl. XIX, 3), y^e imo scape left extremely rough, but about a foot above it a narrow girdle of y^e Pillar taken down to its intended surface & polish'd, w^h confirms y^e conjecture of its being an unfinish'd building design'd to be completed after the stones were placed. 30 or 40 yards below it towards y^e river lye several broken pieces of fluted Pillars but not enough to import that y^e Temple extended so far.¹³

This description settles finally all questions¹³ about the condition of the

¹³ All the literature on the subject is clearly set forth by the late Dr. H. C. Butler in *Sardis*, II, Pt. 1, Chap. 1, § 2.

temple in May 1750, which pillars were standing then, which one had fallen when Chandler visited the site in 1764, and incidentally, which pillar the party excavated, though none of the diaries mention which it was.

Borra's plan is here set beside that of the American excavators (Fig. 1), whose numbering of the columns of the façade corresponds with Bouverie's and is therefore adopted for the other columns.¹⁰ A comparison with the view

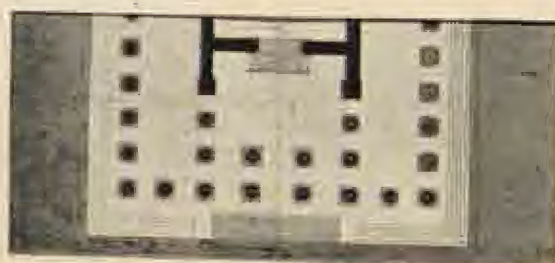
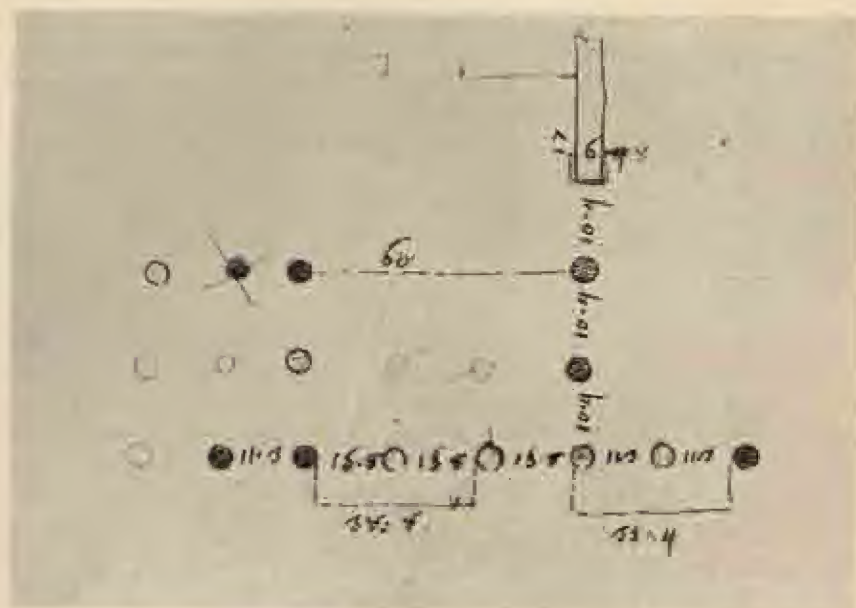


FIG. 1.—PLANS OF THE E. PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS. 1. IN 1750.
2. IN 1912 (AFTER SAKIS, I, PL. II).

(Pl. XVIII) shows that columns Nos. 1, 6, 7 in the façade, No. 10 in the 2nd row and Nos. 16, 17 in the 3rd row, were entire, that a pilaster and a piece of the N. anta of the cella wall were standing and with Nos. 18 and 10 carried an architrave. There were apparently remains of six broken columns, Nos. 2-5, 13, and 18. The S. pilaster, the front wall of the cella and the great door had

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, I, Pl. II.

disappeared. After Wood and his party had left Sardis, but some time during the same year (1750), a Frenchman named de Peysounel visited it. Some of his drawings, including one of the Temple, are reproduced in *Sardis*,²⁰ and also a statement which helps us to identify the pillar excavated by the English party. He says, 'I observed a hole at the foot of one of the columns which support the cornice, and my guide told me this hole had been made by an Englishman who had desired to find the depth of the column.' The columns 'which support the cornice' are Nos. 10 and 16, and a comparison of Borra's sketch of the decoration of the torus (Pl. XIX, 3) with the series of torus-designs illustrated in *Sardis*, II. 1, III. 58 to 65, shews that the required design (whether it be described as 'fishes' scales pointed upwards' [Bouverie] or 'pointed water leaves' [Sardis]) decorates Column 16, not Column 10. Column 16 is therefore the one excavated and also the one which had fallen when Chandler visited the site.

The party, which had stayed a day longer to finish the digging, left Sardis on June 2nd.

Vol. 2. *Sardis to Pergamon*. June 2nd-6th.

Drawing: View of Sardis from the Barrow (Bin Tepe).

The party halted at the Barrow known as the Tomb of Alyattes, where Borra made a prospect, and reached Thyatira (Ak Hissar) next day. In the town they saw several inscriptions mentioned by Wheeler, but not the 'foliaged' relief nor the half-buried relief near it. Their journey on the 4th lay through the Histonian plain, where they note that the famous pillars described by Smith and others had been removed by a powerful Aga, Caraos Morale. The country through which they travelled was fertile and well cultivated and the corn good, where the locusts had not eaten it.²¹ They arrived at Pergamon on the 6th and camped a quarter of a mile S.E. of the town under the Castle hill.

Pergamon. June 6th-8th.

Drawings: City from the plain; amphitheatre; theatre; ruins of Church of S. John; plan, elevation and column base of building in town; base of column, architrave and profile of cornice with soffit from building in the Castle.

The first building described was in the Town; 'We saw several handsome Corinthian Pillars & They are so dispos'd that we conjectur'd that They have made the Façade of some very magnificent Fabrick. There is a wall near them which probably was cas'd with Marble as 'tis rough'd and not fine Work, five Pillars still remain on one side of the door of the Wall & three on the other & opposite within the Door are four more & in right line with Them lower down stands one by Himself.' 'At the Skirts of the Town are what we take to have

²⁰ *Op. cit.* II., Pt. 1, III. 19, p. 6.

²¹ Hawkins notes the 'infinite service' done by the 'locust-birds.' 'They are shaped like a blackbird of much that size, perhaps smaller, have specious mouths with yellow and black streaks upon their backs like a Spanish fly and brown under their bellies. They feed upon locusts entirely and never appear where they are

not, very shy, appear never alone, make a loud chirrup when flying & are swift in flight & generally in motion.' No birds are now known by this name, but Mr. A. F. R. Wollaston (to whom the question was referred by the kind offices of Miss F. Russell and Mr. W. H. Buckler) suggests that they may be night-jars.

been a Church (Fig. 2). On either Side at a small Distance is a round Building with an ample Marble Frontispiece.' They visited the Amphitheatre (then call'd the Queen's House) of which the slope was visible but seats demolished; the Theatre, where the wall that terminated the seats at each end, scattered fragments of seats, and part of the wall of the proscenium still existed, and they found 'a piece of the upper Cornish of the Building with the Modillion to it, very elegant.' The walls of the Castle and the Castle itself were for the most part made up of the fragments of more ancient buildings, and there were 'prodigious numbers of old Stones & some Inscriptions scatter'd about but in the inward Part towards the Top are some beautiful Ruins of a very magnificent Fabrick, so we took the measures of the Ornaments, which are Corinthian.'



FIG. 2.—PERGAMON, 1750: THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN.

From Pergamon they rode to Sanderli on the Eleatic Gulf, which they reached on June 9th, 'and return half-roasted on board the (Matilda) however satisfied with the Objects our Tour afforded yet not a little fatigued with the Inconveniences We had felt from the violent heat &c.'

Sanderli to Constantinople. June 10th-16th.

Drawings: Map of Dardanelles and Castles; View of Gallipoli.

Their next objective was Troy, but as the wind set fair for the Dardanelles they altered their plans. The 'new Castles' had just been built and they 'observ'd some wide mouth'd Guns which fire stone Shot in the Southern one.' At the 'Old Castles,' which were famous for their great Guns ('Their Bores are two feet in Diameter and Fire most huge tremendous marble Bullets'), they halted to salute the Capitan Bashaw who was encamped on the plain behind the Castle; five galleys lay in the harbour and a mile higher up were three men-

of-war, 'two larger than our Eighty-Gun Ships.' After passing the sites of Sestos and Abydos they noted the town of Gallipoli, 'making by far the best appearance of any town upon it,' and finally dropped anchor at Constantinople on the 16th.

Vols. 2, 3. *Constantinople*. June 16th-July 10th.

Drawings: Views of Constantinople; views of the 'long' and the 'crooked' aqueducts; sketches of *chiosques*.

The official diary records visits to all the usual sights, but it was obviously inexpedient to investigate buildings and monuments too closely. A great fire had recently taken place, though when they visited the Fire Tower they were informed that 'the account of It had been greatly augmented only about 300 Houses having been destroy'd.' It was a time of great building activity, and Wood notes later that marble from all the ancient sites along the Sea of Marmora was being shipped to Staniboul. They saw St. Sophia from the Gallery, but it was dirty and ill-kept. 'I can't say the Inside does dedommage the Trouble and Expense of most Visitors & I firmly believe that if St. Sophia was in Rome that no Traveller except a German would enter It.' The custodian distributed tesserae from the mosaics to visitors. They note that the statue and the three upper wreaths had disappeared from the Porphyry Pillar which had been greatly damaged by fire, the Pillar of Marcian was in a private garden and inaccessible. Their account of the Hippodrome is fuller: the obelisk of Constantine son of Romanus had been only recently stripped of its bronze covering, and the inscription on its base was now covered with earth. The earth had also encroached on the base of the obelisk of Theodosius since the time of Gyllius, 'whereby the Inscription and Bas Reliefs are hid' . . . 'We could not measure here but judg'd Those of Gyllius to be pretty just at least to the Eye if anything Mr. Bouverie thought them overdone, but the four angular Birts are of course red Granite & not Porphyry.' The Serpent Column was standing 'to the height of eight or nine feet, where It branch'd into three Heads which are now broke off.'

They made a tour of the circumference of the city, by boat from Seraglio Pt. to the furthest corner of the Seven Towers, and from thence on foot, and judged the total distance to be eleven miles. The diary ends with a long discussion of the topography, based mainly on Gyllius with references to Pococke, illustrated and corrected by their own observations made during a series of excursions by boat and on horseback in the environs of the city. They left Constantinople on Friday, July 10.

Vols. 3, 4. *Constantinople to Genrcui*. July 10th-25th. (Nicomedia, Prusia, Cyzicus, Lampeacus, Sigæan Promontory.)

Drawings: Sketch maps of Asiatic coast; View of Lampeacus from the Sea; Port of Cyzicus.

The party made an excursion to Boursa (Prusia), intending to ascend Mt. Olympus, but did not do so as it was too hazy to get a view. They stopped at Artacui, for Cyzicus, and note mistakes in Pococke's topography, and that his 'aqueduct' was an amphitheatre. The fortifications on the promontory were being used as a building quarry for Stamboul. At Lampeacus they bought

three inscriptions. The eight or ten Corinthian pillars there, mentioned by Wheeler, 'now form a Water-Damm.' On the 25th they anchored off Goureni, below the Sigæan Promontory.

Vol. 4. *The Trojan Plain.* July 25th—August 4th.

Drawings: Details for Map of Trojan Plain; View of Bridge over Scamander.

The diaries do not add appreciably to the information contained in Wood's Essay entitled *A comparative View of the Antient & Present State of the Troad to which is prefixed an Essay on the Original Genius of Homer*. He had already visited the Sigæan Promontory in July 1743, and had rowed half-a-mile up the Scamander as far as the wooden bridge. The diary begins, 'We assembled at the Asiatic Lower Dardanelles resolv'd to make an Incursion up the Scamander & its adjacent Country invited to it by the Hints of our friend Dr. Lisle's [Delisle] Letter & whose Chart as to principal Things so correct that it merits the pains of a second Survey to alter anything which may have escaped notice &c.' They spent the 26th and 27th in following the course of the Scamander up into the hills, encamping one night on its banks where the nightingales serenaded them. On the 28th they arrived at Mt. Chigur, where Delisle places Scepsis: 'there still exists very considerable Remains of a noble Wall running round the brow of the Hill . . . It seems traceable all round but in some places preserv'd to a reasonable Height, & full twelve feet thick.' On the 29th they rode down to the junction of the two rivers Scamander and Simois and thence along the river to the ancient stone bridge over it. From there they struck E. across the plain to a village where they were told that the source of the Simois (Mendere) was eight hours' ride up into the hills, that there were hot springs four hours up, and that beyond them the road was unpracticable for horses, 'and from which we left the pursuit of Simois.' On the 30th they rode back to the Scamander, and passed that day and the 31st very happily on the lower slopes of the hills, riding down to Troas in the evening. On August 1st they made a careful survey of the ruins, which included the city wall. On the E. side of it was a building which might have been only a Gateway but had something the form of a Temple. The chief remains were those known as 'Priam's Pallace,' of which a full description is given, 'as everything portable is being shipped to Constantinople to build the new Mosque.' On the 2nd they rode back to the Old Castle and rejoined the *Matilda*, but came on shore again next day to bargain unsuccessfully for the Boustrophedon inscription copied by Chishull, and for a bas-relief. Both these were then serving as seats outside the Mosque and were rapidly being defaced. The bas-relief contained five figures 'that seem to have been extraordinary beautiful. The middle figure only is sitting with a dejected look, veil'd like a Pudicitia on Medals, all the others seem to be approaching Her, two on each side, three of them have in their Arms a swath'd Infant, the fourth a large Dish or Basket.' There was also the mezzo-relievo described by Pococke as 'Achilles looking at a Spear.' Mr. Bouverie thought it was 'an Athlete regarding His Prize.'

Vols. 4, 5. *Tenedos to Scala Nuova.* August 4th—28th. (Mytilene, Foggia Vecchia, Scio, Teco.)

Drawings: Mytilene, view of Castro and the castle from the N.E.; the

Aqueduct from the E.; marble throne. Foggia Vecchia, plan of ports. Scio, view of, from the sea; branch of mastick tree. Teos, view of Sigigieck; plans, details and measurements of temple of Bacchus. Maps of coast-line.

At Tenedos the only thing of interest was an inscribed sarcophagus, used as a cistern and lately brought from Troas. They spent three days in Mytilene, visiting the aqueduct and other antiquities,²² and copying some inscriptions. On the 10th August they entered the harbour of Foggia Vecchia, wrongly marked on their map as Foggia Nuova, which lies on the other side of the promontory. The town had been shattered by an earthquake in 1746. They saw no inscription which could confirm its identification as Phocaea, but bought one which named its colony, Marseilles. On the 14th they dropped down to Scio and found the Capitan Bashaw's big ship lying outside, and his galleys inside the mole. They made excursions to the Convent of Neomene, but were not allowed to see the rich library, and to the 'School of Homer,' of which Pococke gave a very exaggerated account. 'The School is an ordinary Rock. I wonder where Pococke found Matter to conjecture so many Figures upon the Chair²³ which is a very coarse Stone; upon the Rock are some imperfect Lines of Lyons or anything else you please . . . 'tis true they are now defac'd.' They also visited the mastick village. Several pages are devoted to the amenities of Scio, which was exceptionally prosperous and very beautiful.

On the 20th they reached Sigigieck the port of Teos. 'It abounds with Inscriptions & several the same as Chishull has copy'd relating to the Teians.' The next day they visited Bodrum (Old Teos) and carefully examined the ruins of the Ionic temple, 'which was brought levell with the Ground, tho' most of the Stones remain'; the fragment of an inscription ($\Delta(\text{ON})$), from which Pococke²⁴ deduced the dedication of the Temple to Bacchus, was still there. Near the temple was 'a Row of Ordinary Arches like the Foundation of a Building, pretty entire and other Ruins too imperfect to be made out except by Pococke.' There was also a theatre and considerable remains of the City wall. The next day they rode to the spot where Chishull transcribed the famous Teiorum decree, which 'he has preserv'd all but one side & which He must not have seen, 'tis pity that part escap'd so accurate an Author, It now lyes in a mangl'd condition just enough to prove It the same, for some Franks offering to purchase It the Turks defac'd & broke It on purpose to prevent its being carried away & 'tis now no longer legible.' They spent Sunday 23rd in comparing 'Mr Chishull's Coppys with the Originals which are very exact,' and waited a day longer in order to purchase the Inscriptions, 'but the Capitan Bashaw's half-Galley being there the Officer deterr'd the Aga from suffering any large Stones to be sent out of the Town. We bought five or six small sepulchral ones.' They waited another day till the galley sailed, but in vain, the Aga would

²² A comparison of Berry's sketch of the aqueduct with Pococke's view of it shows that it had suffered a good deal since his visit in 1745. (*Travels*, II. Pl. 2, Pl. XL); he also figures the marble

chair cut from one piece of marble (*op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIX).

²³ *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVII.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, II. 2, p. 43.

only sell another sepulchral inscription, though this one was 'a fine large stone.' On the 28th they dropped anchor at Scala Nuova (Neapolis).

Vol. 5. *Ephesus*. August 29th-September 1st.

Drawings: Plan of remains of Great Gymnasium; Drawings of three Hector reliefs in the Castle wall; plan and measurements of Stadium; Plan and details of Corinthian Temple.

The party rode across the plain to Ephesus; and after dining under 'a shady Figg Tree at the head of the lake, now cover'd over with Sedges' took up their quarters in one of the rooms of 'the great Building which Pococke imagines may have serv'd for Warehouses. They call it the Bazare or place of Merchandize which perhaps gave the Dr. the Hint for this conjecture.' Like all their predecessors they mistook the ruins of the Great Gymnasium near the Port for the site of the great Temple of Diana.²⁴ 'The ruins consist in several solid Stone Piers, some of the Brick Arches on these stone Piers are remaining and other's destroy'd. This has certainly been the Body of the Building & has extending from It on each side to the Westward a large Grove of square Pilasters & reach almost to the Lake.' They explored the 'souterains beneath the Body of the remaining Ruins', in some places six feet high, in others so low that they had to crawl. The description of the site and its surroundings is very detailed, as they disagreed with Pococke on many points. They visited the Castle, where they saw many inscriptions and the three Hector reliefs, and the Church of St. John, then converted into a mosque, in which they saw some granite pillars like the broken ones lying near the Gymnasium. They also explored and measured the stadium, the theatre, and a round rock with buttress-like foundations 'as of a round temple.' In fact 'such a choice of Ruins that a Traveller need not be at a loss to identify anything.' They took careful measurements and drawings of the Corinthian temple²⁵ at the foot of Mt. Corisus, 'which must have been unmolested since Its Fall as We found almost the whole Pediment & everything We wish'd to observe except the Bases of the Pillars. We have been very exact in the Draught of the Members as They offer'd some particularities from the usual method.'

On September 1st they rode back along the coast to Scala Nuova, which they reached on 'the last day of Ramazan.'

Vols. 5, 6. *Samos*. September 2nd-7th.

Drawings: Plan and measurements of Temple of Juno; details of capitals and bases of columns. View of coast-line of Mycale.

The party reached Samos on September 2nd and stayed there until the 7th. It was inhabited only by Greeks, and the Aga came once a year to collect the poll-tax. The fine wall of the old town of Samos, 'though nowhere complete has still in some parts above 20 feet in height.' There were no ruins inside the enclosure, but 'on the narrow Flat to the Sea are some broken Pillars about 2 ft. high, (Pococke's Forum) and Abundance of other Ruins but

²⁴ Falkner, *Sphinxes and the Temple of Diana*, Plate and pp. 94 ff.

²⁵ This is a building described by Pococke (*loc. cit.*, Pl. LI.) as a pavilion for the recep-

tion of a colossal statue of (probably) Diana; and listed by Falkner (*op. cit.*, p. 111) as a temple of Chaulios.

so mangl'd that nothing can be made out except the Theatre, half way between the W. wall to the Port at the E. Corner of the plan.' They disagreed with Pococke's identification of the Old Port as being inconsistent with the ancient accounts of its size and importance. On the 4th they visited the ruins of the Temple of Juno. 'There is only one Pillar & that defective One can't tell how much below the Capital, the Stones rounded like a Chaise (? Cheese) that remain [are] disjoyn't'd. The Ends of several now appear nearly levell with the Surface of the Earth. There are enough to shew It had a Portico supported by Columns & a Peristilium, likewise that Pococke's plan is false but enough to correct It by. We took the Draught and Measures as exact as the thing would admit.'²⁷ Here they purchased a broken inscription.

Vols. 6, 7 (7 = 6a). *Palat to Budrum*. September 7th-October 14th. (Samsun, Iné, Gulzel Hissar, Sultan Hissar, Eski Hissar, Pambouk Kalesi, Geyra, Arab Hissar, Mellassa, Jaileh.)

Drawing: map of embouchure of River Maeander.

On September 7th they started on the longest 'jaunt' in their tour, transferring at Samos to a Greek boat for the journey to the mainland and up the Maeander, as the bar was too high for the *Matilda*. Their six-oared boat stuck on it, but got clear and sailed up the stream, which was very deep and fifty or sixty yards wide.²⁸ They saw quantities of fish and wild-fowl, but the river wound so much that in the evening, learning that though Palat was only half a mile distant, it would take the boat four hours to reach it, they 'took to our Leggs.'

Vol. 6. *Palat*. September 8th-10th.

Drawings: Course of R. Maeander to sea from Palat. View and plan of *cavea* and *scenae frons* of theatre, details of architecture and construction.

Wood probably shared the view of all the travellers of that age, that Palat was the site of Miletus, as he mentions the find of two inscriptions relating to the Milesians, but the identification is nowhere definitely made, and he specially notes that the river had changed its course since Wheeler was there and had probably done so before; at this time it enclosed two-thirds of Palat. The theatre was the only antiquity of account, though there were the foundations of a building, the remains of which seemed to indicate a Bath Room, with a well-turned Arch, and built of large pieces of white marble; the cornice of a pediment, bits of pillars and a lion couchant bigger than life were lying about. The mosque was built of marble from the ruins, and in an extensive burying-ground to the N.E. were a number of inscriptions. Mr. Dawkins' personal diary gives a very full account of the theatre (Fig. 3), which was pretty perfect, including the gallery, and contained 31 *vomitoria* (1 in the centre, 15 on each side) and had 20 rows of seats from the *vomitorium* (*diazoma*?) to the *podium*.

²⁷ This plan differs considerably from Pococke's, who places the remains of the peristyle on the N. side and the porch at the W. end, whereas Wood, though he places the latter at the same (W.) end, gives a very different arrangement of the remains

of columns and puts the remains of the peristyle on the S. side.

²⁸ Wood and Dawkins visited the mouth of the river again in 1751, coming up from Stanchio (Uos) and stopping at Issos on the way.

The character of the masonry and the size and dimensions of the two doors leading to the *podium* differed.²⁹

Samsun. September 10th-12th.

Drawings : Ionic architrave, cornice, cymatia, lacunaria. Doric building in Forum, architrave, triglyph and capital.

From Palat the travellers rode across the plain to Inecui close under the walls of the Castle of Samsun (Priene), the identification of which was confirmed by an inscription. The principal ruin was a very fine Ionic temple, and in the Forum Doric pillars and scattered marble seats. The walls both of the town and of the Acropolis were well preserved.

Iné. (Eyinch, Inek Bazar.) September 13th.

Drawings : Plan of Ionic temple; details of base and capitals of columns.

Eight hours' riding in a course generally N.E. from Priene along the foot-hills of Mycale brought the travellers to Orgoulic. The last entry in Mr. Bouverie's diary is 'Sept. 13. Ye next morning we set out about 7 & immediately Ye high mountains began to abate & became pleasant hills cover'd



FIG. 3.—PALAT, 1750: SKETCH OF THE THEATRE.

with pasture & some even, & in less Ye an hour retiring further N. we also turn'd to Ye left and came unexpectedly on Ye ruins of an ancient City un-mentioned by Travellers.' The official diary describes them:—An Ionic temple with fine capitals and a frieze in bas-relief. A vast pile of Doric architecture with capitals on two or three pilasters, which might have served latterly for the body of a church; two long rows of half Doric pillars; the form of a middle-sized theatre, another large building with a vast arch and prodigious wall, the foundations of an oblong building. The city wall could be traced two-thirds round the city. The place, which was eight hours from Palat, five from Scala Nuova and six from Guzel Hissar, was known as Iné and had no inhabitants. This is the site which was identified in 1803 by W. R. Hamilton as Magnesia ad Maeandrum, and the Ionic temple as the famous shrine of Diana Lencophryne. It was excavated by the Dilettanti Society in 1812, though the results were not published until 1915.³⁰

Guzel Hissar. September 15th-22nd.

Drawings : View of town and old city; plan of bases of six columns; square pilaster.

²⁹ Here Wood's daughter takes up the transcription, to the great advantage of the reader.

³⁰ *Antiquities of Ionia*, V. Chap. II., where the details of all subsequent excavations are given.

The party arrived at Guzel Hissar on the 15th, and at one o'clock in the morning of the 19th Mr. Bouverie died. He had been dangerously ill for three days of a fever, no doubt caused by over-exposure, but certainly aggravated by the treatment of the local Pasha's Greek physician. He seemed to be better, but Mr. Dawkins tells how on entering his room he found him 'breathing his last, but with all the tranquillity which Shakespeare paints in his description of "Patience on a Monument &c."'.¹¹ His body was sent down to Smyrna for burial, and while awaiting the return of his confidential servant, Dawkins and Wood remained at Guzel Hissar. On the hill above the modern town were some remains of entablature, and three arches in which were some good Greek inscriptions turned upside down, also a wall and a fourth of five engaged pillars like those seen at Teos, viz. two half pillars with a narrow pilaster between them but all consisting of one stone. The wall and the arches did not belong to the same building; Pococke's sketch was incorrect,¹² as also his identification of such poor ruins as the temple of Diana Leucophryne, one of the finest temples of its time. Some of the pillars had recently been removed to build a khan, but as the capitals and bases had been knocked off it was impossible to trace them. Wood did not question the identification, then universally accepted, of the site as that of Magnesia ad M. Its identification as Tralles is of later date.

Sultan Hissar. September 22nd, 23rd.

Drawings: Plan of theatre and profile of seats.

A journey of five-and-a-half hours brought Dawkins and Wood to Sultan Hissar, a village under the slopes of Strabo's Mesogis, and next day they walked up the hill to the site then identified as Tralles, but now assigned to Nysa. The city wall was entirely destroyed, but the theatre was very well preserved. Its architecture not remarkable, but a great many rows of seats and the arches under the *podium* of great size. Some very thick massive walls (Pococke's Citadel) also remained, and to the E. of this a square space surrounded by a colonnade of sixteen Ionic pillars on each side, the bases of which, of Attic type, were standing on one side. Wood saw and copied several inscriptions, but did not find one giving the name of the city. He spoke with a peasant who told him they were constantly digging up inscriptions and destroying them 'in order to shape the stones to their purposes as for Wells etc.'

Eski Hissar. September 26th-28th.

Drawings: Plans, measurements and architectural details of the three theatres.

From Sultan Hissar they travelled to Upper Noslee, an important place on the caravan route to Smyrna, and from there climbed up the hill to the site then identified as Nysa, where the only remains to be seen were a few half-buried arches and the foundation of a bridge. Between Noslee and Eski Hissar they lost their way and 'had to camp in a vineyard without the benefit of the baggage,' which had loitered by the way, but finally after passing some hot sulphur springs reached Denisley, and from thence Eski Hissar (Laodicea) on September 26th. Here they made plans and sketches of three theatres.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 2, pp. 56, Pl. LI.

first (Fig. 4), with great ruins of the façade and stage; 'in the tympanum of the stage there were Men, Women, etc. in Bas-Relief but too much defaced to make out the Story.'²²

Pambouk Kalessi. September 28th.

Drawings: Theatre from outside; plan, profile of seats, decoration of centre door, bases, capitals, cornices, etc.; twisted column. Panorama of district shewing sites.

They slept that night at the country-house of the Aga of Denisley, an hour W. of Laodicea, and on the road found an inscription which suggested an identification of the site as Colossae. Next day they rode to Pambouk Kalessi (Hierapolis),²³ 'which affords the grandest scene of antiquities I ever beheld a most magnificent Pile of Buildings, grand arch'd Rooms & prodigious Walls'; by the lake three 'Dorick' pillars were still standing, and to the E. a noble theatre, the most perfect extant with five doors, and many pieces of bas-relief. Its encircling wall remained and several pieces of the lacunaria of the corridor. Here they specially noted a naked male figure and the drapery and attitude of a female one. In addition to the theatre there was a building of the Ionic order; the building which Pococke called a Triumphal Arch²⁴ had a row of Doric columns, extending for a furlong on each side of three plain arches, of which the centre was the largest. The city walls were nearly two miles in circumference, and outside it were streets of mansions of every shape, many with inscriptions. One inscription in the city wall had the name of the town.

Geyra. September 29th-October 3rd.

Drawings: Plan of Circus with profile of seats. Plan and details of Ionic Temple. Corinthian Columns. Cornice of Composite order. Fragments of friezes. Sarcophagi.

From Hierapolis the travellers returned to Denisley and thence to Janichere, which Pococke identified as Antioch; from there on the 1st October they rode to Geyra (Aphrodisias), where Wood copied a great many inscriptions in the walls of the city. It contained the ruins of a circus, of which very detailed measurements were taken, of the Corinthian Temple of Venus (identified by an inscription), of the Ionic Temple of Bacchus, of which most of the columns were standing though the cella was destroyed; the frieze looked so rough that Wood thought it was unfinished. Near the temple a gate: 'I think the frieze too heavy for the stipite which are very genteel. Does it not want menzuole?' After staying two nights at Geyra they returned to Janichere.

Arab Hisar. October 4th, 5th.

Drawings: Plan of theatre with profile of staircase.

²² Wood's diary contains a note that the 'Scenes,' i.e. the reconstructions of the stage-buildings, of all the theatres 'are greatly helped by Borra's fancy without solid authority from the ruins, particularly that small one at Laodicea and that of Hierapolis,' because the members were

lying scattered about and were not in position. He also notes that the plans and measurements at Hierapolis 'are very exact.'

²³ They note the peculiar properties of the water.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, II. 2, p. 76.

The route to Arab Hissar from Janichere lay by Arpas and Essil Bazar through an opening in the Latmian range to the S. The modern village is situated on the side of a hill and the ruins of Alabanda extend from the top to the bottom of it, but are built of an iron-grey granite which gives the site a 'dismal look.' A fine antique road 15 feet wide, paved with stones of prodigious breadth, ran about half-way up to the theatre. The theatre was much destroyed and there was 'no other Building entyre enough to mention, that of Pococke is a poor thing.' The circuit of the walls could be traced, also the ruins of the Forum. There were a great many massive sarcophagi, 'the inscriptions allmost all worn off.'

Mellassa. October 6th—8th.

Drawings: Temple of Augustus, plan, architrave, details of decoration, column-base, etc. Details of Corinthian pillar. Plan, view and elevation of square building.

The journey from Arab Hissar to Mellassa on the site of the ancient Mylasa took two days, the second day by a bad, steep, winding road over the hills down into the plain. They lodged in a good khan 'possessed by the Armenians (who are as nasty as the Greeks).' 'Pococke's plan of the Temple of Augustus is faulty, as he represented it much narrower than it was, and likewise described the bases very ill.'³⁵ The Corinthian pillar to Menander stands on the foundation of a large temple. An unfinished Ionic pillar stood near, three or four others had been recently destroyed; very little remained of the theatre, and to the N. stood 'that square odd building which is a composition of Irregularity without any sort of Proportion.' Of this they made careful plans to correct Pococke's errors.³⁶ They also saw some fluted Doric pillars standing in a road, of which eight or nine out of twenty still remained.

Jaileh (Jakli). October 8th.

Drawings: Plan of temple; profile of stylobate; impost of lintel; details of columns; architraves of portico, etc.; exterior cornice; capital of pilaster.

Four hours' journey N.W. from Mylasa through a narrow opening in the hills led to a small valley like an amphitheatre, where they found the remains of a fine Corinthian temple. 'To the E. no pillars remain, on the N. side there are eight, fluted, on the W. five, they are fluted, all but the S. corner one, that of the N. corner is wanting, only three standing on the S. side not fluted or finished, the Stipite of the Door still remaining. Here are ruins of a fine wall. The place is call'd Jaileh.' This is the site afterwards identified by Chandler as Labranda, but now accepted as that of Euromia.³⁷ The temple was afterwards excavated by the Society of Dilettanti.³⁸ Dawkins and Wood did not notice the theatre, which according to Chandler was very much overgrown. After taking measurements they returned to Mylasa.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, Pl. 2, Pl. LV.

³⁶ *Loc. cit.*, Pl. LVI.

³⁷ In Berra's sketch-book the modern name is given as Mandanatte, but the name

does not appear in the diaries.

³⁸ *Antiquities of Ionia*, Pt. I, Chap. IV, pp. 53—58.

Vol. 7 (= 6a).²⁹ *Bodrum*, October 19th-14th.

Drawings: View of town from the harbour. Cornice, architrave, triglyph of Doric building. Altar.

Two days' ride by way of Eurghe, the salt marshes, the harbour of Guerghilnich and the sea-coast brought the travellers an hour before sunset to 'a pretty prospect of Bodrum under Us. We return'd on Board the *Matilda* lying in Bodrum Harbour in Caria.' The old town 'if it be Halicarnassus' lay at the foot of a high hill to the N. of the modern town; its wall ran up the E. and W. of the hill, and on this latter side almost down to the harbour. About a third up the hill were the well-preserved walls of a theatre, concerning which full details are given. A huge block of marble with sculptured figures in alto-relievo lay near the bottom of the hill. 'On the E. side of the hill are still standing ten or twelve Doric Pillars, others are fallen, there must have been nineteen at least in the Row, the earth is raised about them full two-thirds of the height of the Pillars, they are exceedingly simple as well as their Intabature, Architrave, Freeze & Cornice, they have 20 Scannalature. We measured them, they front W. of S. Perhaps here may have been the Forum: about 200 yards higher up the hill is an oblong square Foundation of some very great Building. It may be 100 yards in front and is supported by an exceedingly good Rustic³⁰ Wall, which in one Corner was entire enough to measure, its Height was 11 ft., but I cannot say how much to allow for the Ground which was very much raised on all Sides. Besides, this Wall was not the outward one, its upper part is now thrown down as well as the Base being now cover'd. There are the Ruins of an outward Wall, but upon this Foundation . . . are still extant two broken Pieces of Ionic Pillar of very good Marble whose Diameter We measured & found It 3 ft. 10 in. These Pillars denote some vast Structure which the Foundation more than sufficiently confirms. If Bodrum be Halicarnassus I know no Spot so proper to place the Monument of Mausolus upon as this. We walk'd to the Castle . . . On the Inside of the Walls are . . . several pieces of Bas-relief, almost all of these representing Battles in which are many Women engaged some on Horseback: The Women have an Instrument in their hands like a Hatchet, they seem to be meant for Amazons; some of the Bas-Reliefs are better than others yet I do not think them of the best Ages.'

Stanchio, October 14th-16th, 1750; May 1st, 2nd, 1751.

From *Budrum* the *Matilda* crossed to *Stanchio* (Cos), the chief town of which, situated in the middle of the crescent-shaped bay, was a port of call between Alexandria and Constantinople and the centre of the fruit-trade: in situation and appearance surpassed only by Mytilene and Scio. Wood copied an inscription over a Genoese gate which gave the name of the ancient town, though that was supposed to be a mile distant. At their second visit they saw some inscriptions, a fine draped female figure (headless) and some charming bas-reliefs, probably part of a frieze, in the wall of the Castle. There were eight figures, the description of which suggests a group of Olympian deities with

²⁹ From this point the diaries are written those of Vol. 6.
on the verso of the page, beginning with ³⁰ I.e. a wall without cement.

Hercules. They also visited a curious hot-spring on the sea-shore, some two hours' ride from the town, only accessible in the summer. When the sand was scraped away the water bubbled up hot and clear. They were unable to take the temperature because, just as Wood was preparing his thermometer, an ill-timed breeze sprang up and drove the waves over them and the spring.

Geramo. October 16th, 17th.

Drawings: Corinthian temple, capital of pilaster, stipite of door, decoration of coiling. Ancient doorway.

On the 16th of October the *Matilda* stood over to the N. side of the Gulf of Stanchio and anchored off Geramo (Ceramus). About half-an-hour's walk from the shore they found the ruins of a building 'which by the Pieces of Architecture & an Inscription mentioning the Name of a Priest We suppos'd a Temple.' The massive foundations remained and they took careful measurements of the existing members; as the Corinthian capitals contained water-flowers, Borra thought it had been dedicated to Neptune. Adjoining the temple was a building which must have been a Christian church, but built with Corinthian columns, etc. to imitate the temple. Many fragments of architecture lay about the site, one inscription bore the name of Trajan, but there were none giving the name of the city. A beautiful ancient door had been incorporated in a Genoese building. There were traces of the city wall, but 'the Remains are as absolute a Ruin as any I ever saw . . . tho' We were well satisfy'd with being probably the first Travellers that ever visited the Ruins of Ceramos.'⁴¹

Capo Crio. October 19th.

Drawings: View of, from the sea. Profile of seats in theatre, Doric triglyph and column. Corinthian column (capital, architrave, cornice, decoration of cymatium, profile of base). Plan of port.

The situation and physical features of Capo Crio corresponded so exactly with the details given by ancient authors that, although so unfortunate as not to find in all the piles of ruins any inscription giving the name of the town, Wood had no hesitation in identifying the port as Cnidus. The ruins observed were an ancient mole, very substantial city walls and two theatres; the lower one still contained many seats and the ruins of the proscenium, which was within ten yards of the sea. Higher up had been another theatre, but only the form remained. There were remains of three distinct edifices, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian. Considerable foundations of the Ionic building remained and its members were particularly well worked, 'nothing in silver could be better.' A very full discussion of the harbours, island opposite, and the surrounding hills completes the description of Cnidus. There were no inhabitants, but two or three ships called every year for Vallonia oak, etc.

Rhodes. October 20th-26th.

Drawings: Rhodes from the sea.

They reached Rhodes the same evening and spent a day wandering about

⁴¹ Leake writing in 1824 only knew of one traveller (D'Hanville) who professed to have visited Ceramos, and therefore did

not attempt to fix its position. (*Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, p. 225.)

the town, the finest in the Levant except Constantinople and Smyrna. They then started for Alexandria; but, after being becalmed, ran into a bad storm, lost their main-topgallant yard and had to run back to Rhodes, where they were weather-bound for four days, making 'a fruitless and tiresome' excursion to the reputed site of Old Rhodes. They got away on the 26th October and made port at Bikiere, four hours from Alexandria, on November 4th.

Vols. 7, 8 (= 6a, 5a). *Egypt*. November 4th-December 15th, 1750. (Alexandria, Cairo, Saccara, Jerah, Cairo, Alexandria.)

Drawings: Views of villages on the Nile; Cairo from the Aqueduct; Plan and façade of the Mikias; plan of Joseph's Well; Views and plans of Pyramids. Rough sketch of Sphinx.

Wood had been in Egypt in 1743 (January, February), and apparently the object of the present visit was to make exact plans and measures of the Pyramids with a view to publication. The official diary contains an elaborate discussion of the views of previous writers from Herodotus to Mr. Graves, with full details of their sins both of omission and commission. During their stay in Alexandria Dawkins measured Pompey's Pillar and the least-encumbered granite pyramid with 'Bird's quadrant.' They tried to visit the Church of St. Athanasius, then a mosque, but could only look through the windows, and went on excursion to the canal which supplied Alexandria with water. Wood copied an inscription at the Old Port. On the 9th December they rode to Madia, and thence next day to Rosetta, where they took boat for Boulaq, arriving there on the 14th. The first ten days of their stay were spent in sight-seeing; one day 'they attended the Consul on his Audience with the Pasha,' and the diary contains an interesting account of the local political situation, of which the Janissaries were complete masters. Dawkins was evidently disappointed in the climate, for he notes 'mist equal to that of a London morning in December.'—'as thick & black a fog as ever I saw in London.' They made excursions to Old Cairo, Jebel Jehissy and Matara (Heliopolis), where the water was still so much out that they could not approach the obelisk, and finally on November 24th went to Jerah *en route* for Saccara. At Jerah after visiting a sal-ammoniac distillery they went to an Egyptian tavern to taste the beer, 'they make it of Barley, fresh & fresh every Day; but instead of Hops they use Leaven, it is of a chalky foul Complexion, has the Taste of Beer & is heady.' They arrived at Saccara on the 25th, and next day visited 'the largest Pyramid upon the Plain of Mummies,' explored all its chambers and then went to the 'stepped Pyramid' and the Catacombs of the Human and Bird Mummies. On the 27th they climbed the Great Pyramid and took the bearings of all the others. Before leaving Saccara they explored the Second Pyramid $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the S. On the 29th they returned to Jerah to visit the Great Pyramid there, 'which indeed surpriz'd me,' and the Sphinx. They took very careful measurements of the chambers in this Pyramid and climbed to the top, from whence they took bearings, finding that their compass 'varied 14 degrees to the Westward.'⁴² The diary gives a minute account of both the Second and the Third

⁴² See p. 105 above.

Pyramids. As all travellers from Herodotus downwards made the same mistake in describing the colour of the last, Wood believed 'they were never near It as they most consistently agree in what is evidently false.' On December 2nd they made their final visit to check their measures and plans of the chambers of the Great Pyramid, visited the Catacombs and returned to Cairo. On the way back Borra took a view of Cairo from the Aqueduct, and made drawings and plans of the Mikias and Moses' Steps. On the 5th they offered a cold collation to the Consul (Barton) at a Bey's country house near Cairo. 'The Turk or Head Servant of the House where we din'd, drank four little French bottles of Liqueur in less than an hour without being the least discompos'd.' On December 7th they left Cairo and arrived at Alexandria on the 9th; on the 13th 'Commodore Acton arrived with the forty Guns. Tuesday 15th *do.* We embark'd in the Port of Alexandria, having been convey'd to the Matilda in Commodore Acton's Boat, attended by himself & Count Richeaut.' Their next objective was Athens, but the Matilda met dirty weather and was forced to run for Caipha (Haifa), the first port they could make.⁴³

Vols. 8, 9 (= 5a, 4a), 10. *Mount Carmel to Damascus.* December 25th, 1750–February 23rd, 1751. (Nazareth, Zaphet, Tiberias, Mt. Tabor, Nazareth, Samaria, Jerusalem, Ramah, Joppa, Caesarea Philippi, Mt. Carmel, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirute.)

Drawings: Panorama of plain of Esdraelon; view of Nazareth; W. side of Mt. Tabor; Well of Nehemiah at Jerusalem; view of Mt. Carmel and plan of Grotto. Coast-line between Tyre and Sidon. Views of Tyre, Sidon, Beirute, Anti Libanus with Damascus in foreground.

The diaries in Palestine, chiefly those of Wood, contain nothing of archaeological interest. The weather was bad, the roads 'the worst I ever travell'd,' and the country was barren, and 'dismally depressing.' They stayed four days at Jerusalem and went the usual round of sights (which did not interest them), and were glad to return to Mt. Carmel and to enjoy the hospitality of the Convent and the wonderful view. From Carmel they rode along the coast to Beirute, and on their arrival there sent a messenger to Aleppo⁴⁴ to make arrangements for their journey over the usual caravan route to Damascus; while awaiting a reply they went up to Zank Michael in the Castravan hills, where Mr. Usgate (Consul?) 'had his retreat.' This place was in the Druse territory and various Christian bodies had schools there. The road lay by the dangerous Antonine Way round the Cape. 'The Road lasts 40 minutes, very romantick & unpleasant, sometimes scarce 10 feet wide without parapet.' It was full of holes and a man could not trust to his horse on it. 'Above on the side of the

⁴³ Wood was unlucky in his journeys from Alexandria. In 1743, when returning to France, the ship met bad weather throughout and took fifty-one days (instead of the usual twenty) to Toulon. Off Crete they nearly foundered, and the sailors, finding that Wood had three mummies among his baggage, threw them overboard. One was a mummy of a brown dog 'like

a Spanish Poynter' crouching with his head between his paws.

⁴⁴ In October 1742 Wood started from Aleppo on a twenty days' tour into Mesopotamia, the places visited being Bir (on the Euphrates), Orpha (Edessa), Romuncolo (Romekale) on the Euphrates, and Antab.

Rock are Figures as bad as Egyptian but greatly damag'd & Inscriptions quite defac'd.' After three days their messenger returned without a permit, so they went back to Beirute (passing the spot where St. George slew the Dragon) and sent another messenger to Tripoli. This application also failed, and on February 23rd they left Beirute on their three days' ride over the mountains to Damascus. 'We had no sooner conquer'd one Range of Hills but another appear'd; heartily tyr'd of this curst Country We were afraid It would never end.' They entered Damascus by the N.W. Gate on February 23rd. The entry for the 24th is laconic, 'We reposed.'

Vol. 10. *Damascus, Palmyra, Baalbec.* February 23rd-April 2nd, 1751.

Drawings: Damascus, view of, from Sallieh; plan and sketch of Church of St. John; sketch-plan of Castle walls. View taken at Malvola (?) March 7th. Palmyra, four views of ruins, seventeen sheets of plans and working drawings. Baalbec, none.

The first four days of the stay at Damascus were spent in seeing the usual sights, viz. the gate by which St. Paul escaped, the place where he fell off his horse, the fountain where he was baptised, the house and tomb of Ananias, the house of Judas, the Castle and the Great Mosque, once the Cathedral Church of St. John. 'the whole Fabrick has been bedevill'd by the Turkish Tast . . . but they have not transmogrify'd it so much as has Pococke in his Design.' A great many pages are devoted to a description of the beauties of Damascus.

On March 6th, having completed their preparations, they set out for Palmyra. The diary of the journey to Palmyra, of the stay there and of the return journey as far as Sudud, are missing, but Borra's sketch-book has survived. Among Wood's papers is a description of the effect produced when they passed through a gap in the hills which surround Palmyra and had their first sight of the ruins, but probably all the material in the missing diary was incorporated in the published work. It is interesting to compare one of Borra's sketches (Fig. 5) with the corresponding plate (XXVI.) in the *Ruins of Palmyra*. They arrived at Palmyra on the 14th March, and according to the preface stayed there until the 27th, reaching Carān, one stage beyond Sudud, on the 31st and Baalbec on April 2nd. These dates, however, do not agree with those given in the diary, which begins again 'Monday, 22nd March N.S. 1751 We left Sudud and steered directly for Carān,' which they reached the same day, left it on the 23rd and reached Baalbec on the evening of the 24th. In that case they only spent five days at Palmyra, as Sudud is distant thirty-two hours' riding from there (the first stage to Carieteen being waterless is covered with only a brief halt in twenty-six hours). There is nothing impossible in this considering the time spent at other sites. They stayed at Baalbec eight days, but had finished the work of measuring and sketching the chief antiquities by the 28th, for the entry on March 29th begins, 'Having nothing else to do We measur'd the little Temple now a Christian Church'; the diary runs on consecutively from here without any record of work, and though they did not leave until April 2nd, that was due to difficulties made 'by the scoundrel Emir.' It seems probable, therefore, they only stayed five clear days at Palmyra. The

diary adds nothing to the details about the site, etc. given in *The Ruins of Baulbec*: Borra's sketch-book has disappeared.

The return journey to the sea-coast over Libanus and down through the Druse territory to Zank Michael, thence by Jesbiel to Traplous (Tripoli), took four-and-a-half days (April 6th), and on April 9th they sailed for Cyprus.

Vol. 10 and Note-book. *Cyprus to Athens*. April 15th-May 10th, 1751.

Drawings: View of Rhodes from the Sea. Delos, details of Portico of Philip; plan of Temple.

The Matilda met contrary weather and spent four days tacking off Cyprus before they could land at Marine for Larnaca. While there they examined 'the



FIG. 5.—PALMYRA, MARCH, 1751: THE ORIGINAL SKETCH FOR PLATE XXVI OF *THE RUINS OF PALMYRA*.

old Stones with the unknown Characters which had been dug out of the Ruins of the Old Wall, transcribed by Pococke.' The official diary ends with their departure from Cyprus on April 18th, but the record is briefly continued in Wood's note-book, according to which the only places visited between Cyprus and Porto Raphite were Stanchio (Coa)⁴⁴ and Delos, but among the 'miscellaneous papers' copied by Wood's daughter is an account of a trip in a boat with 6 rowers, from Stanchio via Assyn Kalessi and Joura (?) to the mouth of the Maeander and thence to Idilli (Delos), where they picked up the Matilda. At Assyn Kalessi (Iasos) they examined the walls and the theatre, at Joura they spent six hours at the Ionic temple, 'whose Volutes have the gentlest Sweep I ever saw. This Temple was I doubt not that of the Didumean Apollo. Here I searched every place for Inscriptions but found

⁴⁴ See p. 121 above.

only one . . . the Subject of it is that Minister of the Temple who transmitted to Mortals the Will of the Gods.' At Delos, where they stayed three days, they measured the Portico of Philip, 'i.e., the members for 'tis all in Ruins of the Dorick Order, not a Pillar entire or in its place or base to be found standing, 'tis of coarser marble than the Temple of Apollo which stood near of Dorick Order, a vast Fabrick but now a meer pile of Ruins. The inscription ΝΑΞΙΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ on the Western side of the — Base which measures 17 feet 3 inches by 11 feet 3 inches is still legible likewise the inscription on its opposite side in strange Characters. . . . The Rump of the Colossal Statue is still there.' They climbed Mt. Cynthis, visited the theatre, etc., rowed over to Micon and strolled about the Great Delos, where they saw many fine altars all badly damaged and a relief of three graceful female figures dancing hand in hand; 'but the faces broke off purposely & so damag'd as not to be worth carrying away.' On Saturday, May 8th, they dropped anchor at Porto Raphte in the Negropont Sea, a little S. of the Bay of Marathon. Here they were met by Mr. Stuart and Mr. Lowther, and on the 10th rode across the plain with them 'thro' olive groves and at last Athens.'

Tour through Attica, Boeotia, etc. May 16th-June 1st, 1751.

Drawings: Map of Plain of Marathon. Map of Thermopylae. Rough plan of Temple at Corinth.

There is no record of the travellers' stay in Athens, as they devoted themselves to helping Stuart and Revett, who immortalised them in *The Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. III, Chap. IV. Pl. I., where they are shewn inspecting the Monument of Philopappus, of which Wood is copying the inscription.

On May 16th they started with Stuart for a short tour (Marathon, Egrippe, Thermopylae, Lake Copais, Thebes, Livadia, Delphi, Galaxidi, Corinth, Sicyon, the Isthmus, Megara, Eleusis), the records of which are contained in two diaries, one of which, though written in the note-book containing Wood's diary from April 18th-May 8th, is probably by Dawkins, the other being undoubtedly by Wood. Except at Delphi and Corinth the narrative is purely topographical.⁴⁶ At Delphi 'We here found the Walls of the famous Temple of Apollo, and all inscrib'd; great discoveries might doubtless be made here; had a curious Traveller Time to indulge his Curiosity all the History of the Temple might be learnt.' They explored the Castalian spring, climbing up slippery steps to the cave in the cliffs, measured as much of the Stadium as they could see, and Wood copied many inscriptions. From Corinth they made an excursion to Sicyon and another to the Acrocorinth, delighting in the magnificent view from its summit. On their ride across the Isthmus 'we pass thro' a hollow some thirty yards, which we take to have been the Canal which was cut to communicate the two Seas.' As they rode through Eleusis they saw 'the ruin'd Bust of the fam'd Statue of Ceres lying down here,

⁴⁶ Stuart used a great deal of the material in his topographical descriptions in the *Antiquities of Attica*. L.S. de la Roche acknowledges his indebtedness for 'details

about Ancient Attica and the Passes of the Thermopylae to the papers of Mr. Stuart.' His map was published in 1791.

the neck & upper of the left shoulder tho' damag'd still shew enough to prove it one of the completest Masterpieces in Sculpture.' 'Via Daphne we reach Athens, a delightful ride.'

The last entry in Wood's diary runs :—' Monday 7th June, 1751 We took leave of Athens and gently descending, leaving the Temple of Theseus on our left hand, We pass'd thro' the Olive Groves. One hour-and-a-half brings Us to Porto Leone where We once more return aboard the Matilda.'

The only records of the homeward voyage are two sketches, one of the Rock of Gibraltar and one of the Straits.

C. A. HUTTON.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Plato: The Man and his Work. By A. E. TAYLOR. Pp. (x + 322. London: Methuen, 1926. 21s.

THIS is the most useful book on Plato which has appeared in English for a good many years, and it is likely to remain a standard work for a good many years to come. Being designed, as its author explains, primarily for two classes of persons, 'Honours students in our Universities, and readers with philosophical interests but no great store of Greek scholarship,' it rightly aims at telling them rather what Plato thought than what they ought to think about Plato: the persons in question will prefer, if they are in earnest, to decide the latter point for themselves. After a brief account of Plato's life, and a concise but valuable discussion of the authenticity of the disputed writings and the order of composition of the dialogues, the remainder of the book is devoted to an analysis of the argument of each dialogue in turn (except the *Republic*, which is too long and too well known for this treatment), accompanied by a running commentary, partly in the text and partly in footnotes, on the major difficulties of interpretation. This plan has not, I think, been systematically followed by any English writer on Plato since Grote. It involves some repetition, and perhaps some tedium if the book be read continuously; but it facilitates reference, it enforces a concrete treatment, and it goes some way towards securing that evenness of emphasis on different aspects of Plato's thought, the lack of which makes so many earlier expositions dangerously misleading for the general reader.

Though the well-known Burnet-Taylor view of the Platonic Socrates naturally underlies the whole interpretation, directly controversial matter is kept within the decent bounds imposed by the scheme and purpose of the book. At the same time the specialist student will find here some interesting novelties, besides the reaffirmation of many theses already familiar to him from Professor Burnet's *Phædo to Plato*. Attention may be called to the very early date assigned to the *Gorgias* and the relatively late one proposed for the *Protagoras*; to the theory of a twenty years' gap between the composition of the *Republic* and that of the *Theætetus*, during which Plato wrote nothing except the *Phædrus*; and to the careful study of the evidence bearing on the 'dramatic' date of each dialogue (which, if the dialogues be regarded as essentially historical reconstructions, becomes at once a matter of substantial importance). To the historicity of the dialogues Professor Taylor has, of course, to admit numerous exceptions, some of which may be felt to weaken his general position. Thus, accepting the *Meno* as genuine, he is inclined to interpret it as a satire on Isocrates, though we are earnestly warned against finding any allusions to that author, or to any other of Plato's contemporaries, in the *Republic*. Again, criticism of the fourth-century Megarian school is recognised in the *Sophistes*; yet the identification of the 'giants' of that dialogue with the atomists is rejected partly on the ground that it would make Theætetus' remark at 246e an anachronism. In the *Philebus*, Plato, in the person of Socrates, 'is acting as moderator in a dispute within his own school' between Speusippus and Endoxus; on the other hand, the *Timæus* goes back to Pythagorean and Empedoclean sources, and its astronomy, at any rate, is not to be taken as representing Plato's own view. On the *Parmenides* Professor Taylor has revised his earlier opinion: he now thinks that neither the paradoxes about the One nor (here he seems to go farther than Burnet) the criticisms on the theory of Forms are anything but a humorous parody of Megarian eristic without genuine philosophic content. To which it may be objected that Parmenides, whose *Bâdos yevmîos* made so strong an impression on Socrates, appears strangely cast for the part of jester, and that for a sword of lath his 'eristic' weapon cuts unsparingly and inconveniently deep into the doctrine of Forms. But whatever doubts

may be felt on points like these, the solid value of the book as a whole is little affected. Professor Taylor's concluding chapter, on *Forms and Numbers*, is interesting but tantalisingly brief: others besides undergraduates will find it rather stiff reading.

The proof-correcting has been less vigilant than one could desire. A few of the misprints are corrected in an inserted slip: among the more vicious of the survivors are p. 171, l. 20, *ἀνδραγαθία* for *ἀνδραγασία*; p. 353, n. 1, 'as' for 'us'; p. 440, l. 16, 'Critias' for 'Timaeus,' 'Limit' for 'Unit,' corrected on p. 412, has been missed on p. 408, l. 18.

E. R. D.

Leaves of Hellas. By MARSHALL MACGREGOR. Pp. vii + 300. London: Edward Arnold, 1926.

Novelty of subject can hardly be expected nowadays in a collection of popular essays on Greek literature. Certainly Mr. MacGregor's themes are familiar enough: Hesiod and Virgil as poets of the land, the influence of religion on the Aeschylean drama, Pindar as poet-laureate, the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes*, the respective status of plot and character in Attic tragedy, Plato as a social historian, some aspects of Aristotle as a dramatic critic, Lucian, and the dog in antiquity. His judgments are often convincing, always independent, and agreeably free from *a priori* theorising; the general effect is at times impaired by a certain archness of manner excusable enough in the lecture-room, but irritating in cold print.

The Culture of Ancient Greece and Rome. By F. POLAND, E. REISINGER and R. WAGNER. Translated by J. H. FREESE. Pp. 335, with 136 figs. and 2 maps. London: Harrap, 1926.

This translation of the shorter German edition of 1924 will be serviceable to those who are not intimidated by the idea of penniculating the glory of Greece and the grandeur of Rome. In the interests of brevity controverted opinions are sometimes stated as facts, but the information is on the whole reliable and up to date. The pictures are well chosen, of reasonable size, and illustrate a rather higher proportion of less-known and recently discovered material than is usual in this class of book. The bibliography added by the translator is inadequate, but his glossary of architectural terms is useful.

Ny Carlsbergfondet og dets Virksomhed: 1902-1927. 11½ × 9. Pp. 78 + 66 figs. in text. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsbergfondets Direktion, 1927.

This volume commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Ny Carlsberg Fund reveals how much the amenities of Copenhagen owe to the generosity of Carl and Otilia Jacobsen. Not content with creating and endowing a collection of ancient sculpture which is in some respects unequalled in the whole world—notably in Roman portraiture—they provided the means of preserving and restoring national monuments like the Kronborg, of forming admirable collections of modern sculpture and painting, and of encouraging Danish artists to produce work like the Dante memorial recently erected outside the Glyptotek and the charming little fountain still more lately set up in the market-place at Elsinore. The wealth of a millionaire has seldom been more profitably spent; the public spirit of the founders and the wisdom of the administrators of the Ny Carlsberg Fund have contributed in no small degree to make Copenhagen one of the most attractive of all European cities.

Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce. By LE COMTE GONLET D'ALTRELLA. New edition. Pp. vi + 155, with 21 figs. in the text. Paris: Geuthner, 1926.

This is a reprint of a series of lectures delivered in 1897 before the Académie Royale of Brussels and published originally in the Bulletin of that institution. In the meanwhile

the researches of Indianists have thrown fresh light on the origins and affinities of the Hellenistic art and culture of North-western India, and especially of the school of the Gandhara. The author pays a tribute in his introduction to the four volumes which Foucher has devoted to this subject, but his information is still in some respects that of thirty years ago; he speaks, for example, of the Leitner collection as if it were still housed at Woking, whereas it was, in fact, divided more than twenty years since between the Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Vienna and the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. But apart from such slight inaccuracies this account of the debt which Indian art, mathematics, literature, and religion owe to Greece is judicious and reasonable. While recognising the undoubted Hellenistic traits in the coinage and sculpture of the Graeco-Scythian kingdoms of the Panjab, the evident borrowings of Indian from Greek astronomy (as attested by the Indian names of the signs of the Zodiac), as well as the parallelism in the medical treatises of Charaka and Hippocrates, M. d'Alviella is too cautious a historian to adduce Greek influence wherever resemblances may be detected; thus he thinks that the evidence for a direct infiltration from the Greek epic cycle into the Mahabharata is very slight, though he is willing to grant that the Attic theatre may have affected the form at least of the Indian drama before Kalidasa. His final chapters on the relations between Greek art and Hindu idolatry and between Krishnaism and Buddhism on one side and Christianity on the other, though unpretending and modest in scale, are marked by a sanity of outlook not always found in the writings of those who concern themselves with comparative religion. The illustrations are the weakest part of the book; they are nearly all too small, and most are derived from unsatisfactory old woodcuts and drawings, even where photographs were available. The book is faithful to the French tradition in lacking an index.

Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting. By ERNST PFUHL. Translated by J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. xiii + 150, with 160 illustrations. London: Chatto and Windus, 1926. 30s. net.

When the names of two such masters of their craft as Professors Pfuhl and Beazley appear on one title-page the highest expectations are aroused; to say that these expectations are more than fulfilled is perhaps the simplest way of appraising this admirable book. For it is no small achievement to have compressed into something less than 150 pages a lucid, consecutive, well-proportioned and entertaining account of Greek painting through the ten centuries of its history that lie between the dipylon vases and the frescoes of Pompeii; especially when we remember that the present survey, intended not so much for archaeologists as for the general intelligent public, has been reduced—distilled, we might almost say—by the author from his monumental and formidably documented work in three volumes. Professor Pfuhl understands to perfection how to change the tone when addressing a less diligent and less learned audience; Professor Beazley, for his part, has captured with remarkable success the lively manner of the original, even to countering the singularities of the author's German with odd words (are they his own inventions?) like 'yattering' and 'strouting.'

The proportions of the historical perspective have been skilfully worked out. In the narrow limits he set himself Professor Pfuhl has managed not only to sketch adequately the development of prehistoric and early archaic Greek drawing, but also to disentangle a guiding principle in the highly complicated involutions of mature Attic vase-painting, tracing the growth of its *ekos* simultaneously with the expansion of its technique, and then to bridge most naturally and gracefully that awkward lacuna between the latest red-figure vases and the Alexander mosaic, the earliest masterpiece of monumental painting that survives in a condition from which we may estimate with some security the qualities of the original. With the later compositions, as extant in Pompeian variants or copies, Professor Pfuhl's criticism naturally concerns the spirit behind the replica, something of which may be recovered by a trained and sensitive intelligence, rather than the form and technique, whose exact relations with the prototype can no longer be determined.

The author's aesthetic assumptions and judgments disclose the impartiality of his taste

and the acuteness of his feeling for individual masterpieces: if one is occasionally inclined to pause and question his pronouncements, reflection will generally reveal the momentary hesitation as caused by a gap in one's own sympathies. While agreeing, for instance, with Professor Pfuhl's appreciation of the consummate balance of line and the nobly lyrical mood of the finest white Attic lekythi in the Periclean age, it is hard to avoid a suspicion that there is already a touch of insipidity in so perfect an equipoise of emotion and expression, and that the period just before maturity, with its intense elasticity and freshness, is perhaps ultimately more satisfying. Again, the technical accomplishment of later painting, with that immense resourcefulness in dealing with the problem of representation to which Professor Pfuhl does ample justice, seems at times a doubtful consolation for the loss of simplicity and artistic innocence: we have too lately outgrown a similar phase in modern art to be able to enjoy without reserve the virtuoso displays of Hellenistic painting.

The production of the book is excellent; the plates are identical with those in the original edition, which were in every way worthy of the firm of Bruckmann, while the English text is more agreeable in appearance than the German. We have noticed only one trifling misprint: p. 102 instead of p. 75, under fig. 102.

The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer. By GEORGE BOLLING. Pp. xii + 259. Oxford University Press, 1925. 21s. net.

Professor Bolling is convinced that 'wherever there are known to have existed longer and shorter versions of a passage, the difference between them must be due to interpolation' (p. 55). His motto might almost be 'Back to Zenodotus,' but his devotion is not to a man but to a principle, and he will follow Rhinatus or anyone else who lets him drop a line or two from the Wolfian vulgate. In theory, indeed, he admits the occurrence at all periods of accidental omissions, but he gives this possibility very little weight. Most of the book is devoted to the detailed examination of all passages in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* where ancient authorities differ, and his verdict is almost always for the shorter form. His general conclusions may be summarised as follows: the vulgate goes back to a popular text based on Aristarchus, though in the *Odyssey* we cannot see far beyond the third century A.D.; Aristarchus had no texts older than that of Zenodotus; all ancient texts had a single source, an Athenian edition not older than the sixth century B.C.

Beyond this he does not profess to look, but he is plainly no unitarian: he would seem, indeed, to be a pretty faithful disciple of Betho. He believes that there was much interpolation between Ptolemaeus and the Alexandrians, but that it was mostly trivial. The longest passages that he assigns to this period are *Iliad* vii. 323-344 and 433-405, the Building of the Wall: a view based chiefly on the famous words of Thucydides. This inference is very disputable, but space forbids detailed criticism here. In general it may be said that a large proportion of his conclusions stands or falls with his belief that neither Zenodotus nor Aristarchus omitted anything that their best MSS. contained, and that contrary statements about Zenodotus spring from the ignorance or malice of Aristonicus. This is an attractive view, and, if it is sound, there is much to be said for following Zenodotus. Bolling's detailed arguments are mostly both learned and ingenious, but he has an obvious bias against the longer versions, and it sometimes seems that any stick is good enough to beat a 'plus-versé' with. It is to be hoped that he will go on to attack the problems of the earlier history of the Homeric poems.

D. S. R.

Letters of Synesius of Cyrene. Translated with introduction by A. FITZGERALD. Pp. 272. Oxford University Press, 1926.

This work is intended to present mainly the epistolary side of Synesius and his work, but in the Introduction, which occupies about a third of the whole, the writer discusses the life of Synesius as patriot, as poet, and as champion of his flock against tyranny and disorder. With regard to his religious philosophy, Dr. Fitzgerald may seem to disparage

more or less the neo-Platonic element which, in the later life of Synesius, became blent with his Christianity. The letters are well translated and are placed in the commonly received order, with Drakon's rearrangement in the margin. In the exposition of the allegory *De Providentia*, the writer seems to press too far the necessity for finding an original for each of the prominent characters, though here he is following some eminent critics. On the whole, the human element in the work should attract even readers who are mere amateurs in late Greek thought and letters.

A. G.

Κασσι. Παπαρηγόπουλον Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους. Ἐκδόσις τρίτη διορθωμένη μετὰ προσθηκῶν, σημειώσεων καὶ βελτιώσεων ἐκδοῦν Καραϊδῶν. 6 vols. Pp. ccccxxvii + 3,645. Ἐκ Ἀθηνῶν: Ἐλευθερουδάκης, 1925.

Since 1903, the date of the last edition of this standard work, much new material has been accumulated for the prehistoric, mediæval and modern history of Greece. Professor Karaidēs, the well-known historian of the contemporary Greeks, who edited and annotated that edition, has now added 460 pages, comprising a long introduction about prehistoric Greece based upon the discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans and others in Crete and philological evidence, 158 pages inserted in the text, chiefly in the first, second and fifth volumes, and a sequel of 160, which brings the story from the sortie from Messolonghi in 1826 down to the annexation of Thessaly in 1881. Another entirely new feature of this edition consists of the 1005 illustrations and the 91 maps. The work reflects the greatest credit on the publisher. The only criticism is that which applies also to Grote—the abuse of lengthy footnotes, which interrupt the narrative. Neither Herodotos nor Paparrhegópoulos used footnotes: they told their narrative in the text. The present is long likely to remain the model edition of this modern Greek classic.

W. M.

Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos jours. Par Édouard Driault et Michel Lhéritier. Tomes IV-V. [1878-1923.] Pp. xxxii + 1147. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1926.

These two last volumes¹ cover the eventful period of Greek history between the treaties of Berlin and Lausanne. The fourth volume, the work of M. Lhéritier, which goes down to the Turkish revolution of 1908, deals dispassionately with a less contentious generation; the fifth, written by M. Driault, treats of still burning questions with a marked bias against Great Britain (e.g. pp. 289, 400, 457) and a scarcely concealed sympathy with one of the two great political parties in Greece. Consequently, he can scarcely expect his history to last as long as that of Herodotos, which he cites as a precedent for writing about so recent events! Both volumes are, however, based upon wide research, especially in the archives of the Greek Foreign Office, and the fifth also upon the statements of numerous living Greek politicians. But there is no background of internal Greek history to the diplomacy, with which it is often in reality interwoven. Besides the narrative of well-known occurrences these volumes contain some curiosities of modern Greek history, such as Dilke's idea of a personal union between Greece and Albania, Goeben's suggestion of ceding Cyprus in 1881, Koumoundoures' desire, also in 1881, renewed by Aehrenthal in 1908 but only realised in 1910, to extend the railway to Salonika, Trikoupi's despatch of two ships to Egypt in 1882, and the Serbian recognition of Greece's claim to Salonika in 1890. We find the germs of Italian hostility to Greek expansion long before Italian imperialism became the 'newest fact revealed by the Great War.' M. Driault is justly eloquent about the Smyrna disaster and M. Franklin-Bouillon's Turkophil policy. He gives a good account of the refugees' settlement, and is well posted in the Dodekaniesian question, including the Venizelos-Tittoni agreement of 1919. But he might have spared us the last

¹ *J.H.S.*: xlii. 132.

from Greece but can be explained on Indian grounds. Again, that there should be in Sanscrit poetry such a profusion of metres is merely in keeping with other Oriental extravagance and is not, I think, due to Hellenic influence.

The thesis defended by Mr. Walker is at first sight too novel and startling for belief, and at times his daring speculation seems rash almost to absurdity. But he marshals his data with great skill and the cumulative effect of the evidence he adduces from many sources, both Greek and Indian, is too strong to be lightly disregarded. He is very conscious of the scornful opposition which he will encounter from what he calls (p. 144) 'the modern and mechanical type of scholar who is likely to resent my whole position as an outrage on what he considers to be his science.' He has not proved his thesis, for, as he clearly realises, conclusive proof is impossible. But he is not afraid to speculate and to run the risk of 'walking into quagmires rank with the potentialities of falsehood in order to render progress towards truth feasible for others.' His work, fantastic as it will doubtless seem to many, is none the less a most ingenious and learned attempt to solve an exceptionally difficult problem and it is well worth reading. It is regrettable that so interesting a book is disfigured by many misprints.

P. S. N.

De Dis Atticis Priapi Similibus. Scriptit HANS HERTER. Bonnæ, MCMXXVI.
Pp. 64.

This is the author's inaugural dissertation, or rather a part of it. His subject was the cult of Priapos, and he has published as much of it as relates, not to the god of Lampasakos himself, but to similar daimones (each hardly more than a *moetula magna minus* with a body attached to it) who were worshipped in Attica before the foreign cult made its way thither, i.e. before the time of Alexander the Great. References to these odd little *numina*, never developing into anything higher, and remaining godlings of the common folk, are naturally scanty, but Dr. Herter has collected what few there are, and has added a list of representations in art of the gods in question; as he points out, it is not easy in many cases to say which particular one, if any, of these grotesque figures the artist intends to portray. The deities in question are Orthana, Konisalos, Tychon, Phales and Ithyphallos, Hilaon, and Aphroditos, whom he discusses in order. Apart from his facts, which are conveniently set forth, the most noteworthy points are his criticism of Farnell's explanation of Plato *comicus*, fr. 174, Kock (p. 11; see *Class. Quart.* xiv, p. 139 foll.) and his decided rejection (p. 39) of Usener's too clever attempt to identify St. Tychon with the daimon of that name.

Die Pharmakoi in Ionien und die Sybakchoi in Athen. By VIKTOR GERNHARD.
Pp. viii + 119. Amberg, n.d. (?) 1926).

This brief work is superior to the ordinary doctoral dissertation, and indicates that its author may well attain a respectable, even an eminent place among students of ancient religion. His learning and diligence are commendable, his critical sense keen, and his use of the comparative method sober but ingenious. He begins by carefully setting down all passages in ancient literature which bear on the ritual of the *φάρμακοι*, adding welcome criticism of each, particularly of the *loose classics* in Trotses, in which he sifts that grammarian's own absurdities and blunders from the accurate information contained in his sources. Next follows a summary of the practice, as described by these authorities, and then a very good review of the different theories as to the origin and meaning of the rite. His general criticism here, which does not lack justification, is that no view as yet put forward accounts fully for all the evidence. He then proceeds to his own hypothesis, which is briefly as follows. The *φάρμακος*, that is, 'der als Zauber dienende Mensch' (p. 60), is beaten with lucky plants, to drive all bad magic out and good magic in. This makes him a kind of temporary god (the reviewer considers this an unfortunate statement, but containing an element of truth), and in this capacity he traces a beneficent magic circle, and gifts are

made to him as a *captivus benevolentiae* (are they not rather to secure his good influence for the food supply? They appear to have been gifts of food, which would thus bring the rest of the available food into contact with the *φάρμακός*). The practice, originally restored to in times of emergency, became regular later. The stoning was a symbolic killing of the worn-out vegetation deity, or, what is much the same to a Greek, his banishment. Real killing never took place. Later, contamination with the scapegoat occurred, and the parts of the rite which definitely show the *φάρμακός* to be a beneficent spirit of fertility lasted on as meaningless fossils (Gebhard assumes that the earliest rituals for driving away evil would have no such figure as a human scapegoat, which seems a hazardous suggestion.) The *φάρμακοί* were nicknamed *αἰβανέες* in Athens because Dionysos tended to absorb all manner of rites of fertility, and were associated also with Apollo from his prominence in ceremonials of purification.

The rest of the thesis, pp. 63 to end, is occupied with a detailed defence of each of the above points, in which incidentally various matters of more or less interest are discussed. The whole forms a most usable collection of material, even if one differs wholly or in part from Gebhard's views.

H. J. K.

Die Religion der Griechen. Von OTTO KERN. Erster Band: von den Anfängen bis Hesiod. Berlin, Weidmann, 1924. Pp. viii + 308. 11 marks (paper), 15 marks (cloth).

There is room for a work on Greek religion larger than the sketches by Farnell, Nilsson and others, yet smaller than the largest works on the subject and not too technical to be used by the non-specialist. The author has undertaken to supply this want, and the present volume, the first of three, gives a large enough sample of his performance for us to form some opinion of the value of the whole. The learning of Dr. Kern has been sufficiently demonstrated by his *Orphicorum fragmenta* and his numerous excellent shorter works. His methods he himself indicates in a short preface, as follows: 'ich hoffe doch, dass sie (the account given in this work of Greek religion) eins zeigt, dass Ernst Curtius und Hermann Diels, Carl Robert und Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf meine Lehrer waren.' A goodly company of teachers, certainly, and a not unworthy pupil; but it would have done the book no harm if Kern had paid a little more attention to views put forth since the death of some of these scholars, and in countries other than Germany.

Very rightly, he begins with a sketch of the religious life, not simply of prehistoric Greece, but of the whole Aegean basin. As a characteristic of its earliest form he finds what he calls fetichism, a word which he uses in the loose way popular with many writers in Germany and out of it, to signify little more definite than non-anthropomorphic cult. It is a pity that he does not use some more accurate term, for it is confusing to be told, for example, that the worship of Artemis Brauronia has behind it the cult of a 'Bärenfötisch,' meaning presumably not a magical image shaped like a bear, but the bear itself, whether as an individual or as a species. It is at least reassuring to find that he does not discover totems in these worshipped creatures. Anthropomorphism, he believes, began when the inhabitants of Greece came to conceive their gods as of partly human form, or when they paid worship to objects not indeed representing the human-shaped god himself, but belonging intimately to him, as his throne or his sceptre. The first anthropomorphic art-types are of course Minotaur. Chthonian gods were the first to become prominent, arising as they do from the primordial worship of Mother Earth. Sky-gods, even Zeus, are later, and war-gods belong to the chthonians. They personify the fear of death and annihilation. The development of such ideas, and the clash of invaders and invaded, naturally led to compromises, of which the best known is that pairing of god and goddess found in the widespread *τέλει γάμος*, which generally unites a chthonian to an Olympian god. In the local forms of religion, a great part was played by the topography of the various districts, mountaineers, for example, conceiving of a deity who lived in their mountain, those who lived near the changeful sea, of a god who could change his shape as he chose, and

so forth. Many of these local figures live on in the guise of heroes; but it does not always follow that because a particular deity never was given any very splendid cult, his or her influence was not widely and deeply felt. Artemis, for example (p. 104), was intensely revered, yet her public cult is not especially imposing.

When the Achaean invasion came down from the north, bringing with it the sort of religion familiar from Homer, it reacted in various ways upon the existing cults. To a certain extent it oppressed them, driving some forms of worship into secrecy, and thus accounting for many mystery-cults. Elsewhere the two combined; thus the new-comer Zeus absorbed the ancient mountain-spirit of Olympus, but compromised with the ancient and powerful goddess Athena, who from henceforth was reckoned as his daughter. But through many such compromises and modifications, the ancient religion of the land is still clearly to be seen, for example, in hieratic names and formulae inexplicable from Greek speech. In the case of many deities it is possible to see where and even approximately when they forced their way into the chosen circle of the conquering and proselytising religion of the Zeus-worshippers. In this mixed new religion there grew and developed the typically Greek *theōtheia*, which after the very earliest times contained in it a considerable element that was not mere formalism.

Such is roughly Dr. Kern's idea of the religious history of Greece up to the time of Hesiod. It is clear that he possesses insight and sympathy as well as good acquaintance with the facts. It is also clear that few, if any, will agree with every detail of his exposition. The reviewer finds something to criticise adversely as unsound or shallow, much to question. For example, the author supposes (for instance, p. 202) that the new, composite religion was the result of deliberate missionary effort on a carefully thought out basis. The Thessalian hymns to whom he attributes its inception, 'haben nach ganz bestimmten Grundsätzen gewählt und verworfen . . . sie haben . . . eine Aristokratie der hellenischen Götterwelt schaffen wollen.' It seems not impossible; but to prove it will need much more evidence than Dr. Kern has seen fit to put forth in this book, at all events. To take a less important point, he is rather too much given to the pleasant game of finding faded gods everywhere; and some of his dicta, as that phallic worship presupposes anthropomorphism, are rather startling. Worse than doubtful are such statements as (p. 36) that human sacrifice is certainly very old; can the author produce examples of it from really primitive, or anything like primitive, cult? In the same context, the alleged human sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios is far from certain for historical times, since our best and earliest authority, Plato, mentions it only as a rumour, and the most circumstantial accounts are much later. On the next page, to call the death of Polyxena a sacrifice and class it with that of Iphigenia is playing with words. On p. 41, if the statement that Pindar calls Pelops a son of Kronos rests, as it appears to do, on Ol. iii, 23, the author has misconstrued that passage, or at least adopted a highly doubtful rendering. Also, I should be inclined to place his free use of and dependence for proof upon etymologies under the head of mistakes, since so few are certain, and some hardly appear reasonably probable.

Nevertheless, we have here a treatise to be reckoned with, and one full of good and ingenious suggestions. We may look forward with interest to the forthcoming volumes, especially perhaps to the next, which presumably will include the rise and progress of Orphism and the obscure religious history of the seventh and sixth centuries, in which the author, if I have not misunderstood some rather obscure remarks on p. 134, sees a survival or recrudescence of prehistoric religious developments in an ethical direction.

H. J. R.

Sappho: the Poems and Fragments. Greek Text with an English Translation. Introduction, Notes, Glossary, etc., by C. R. HATCKS. Pp. xviii + 258, with 20 plates. London: Routledge, 1926. 12s. 6d.

This volume in the 'Broadway Translations' series is, as the title implies, much more than a translation. In fact its object is to give a 'comprehensive edition of Sappho, containing all that is so far known of her unique personality and her incomparable poems.'

Both points are discussed in an interesting introduction which, while it contains little that is new, does put before the reader a large quantity of miscellaneous information, which the general public, for whom the book is primarily intended, would not easily find for itself. The text is for the most part satisfactory. Mr. Lobel's edition was published too late to enable the author to use it to the full, though he often refers to it. He is rightly cautious in making restorations, but prints some which are far from convincing. For instance, in frag. 135 (Bergk 169; Lobel γ 11 App.) the second line should surely be restored on the assumption that $\eta\zeta\epsilon\omega$ (or its dialectal equivalent), which is repeated in the MS., should be the reiterated word.

To represent the full quality of Sappho's poetry in another language is probably impossible, but Mr. Haines attains to a high average standard. At times his versions seem stilted and unnatural and to lack the fire of the originals, as, for example in 4, the famous lyric preserved by Longinus (Bergk 2; Lobel α 2 App.); but on the whole his translations are neat and direct. As a sample of the general character of his work and of the sort of metre with which he represents the Sapphic stanza, the first stanza of 8 (Lobel α 5) may be selected:—

Some think a gallant navy on the sea,
And some a host of foot or horse, to be
Earth's fairest thing; but I declare
the one we love more fair.'

He has contrived to give verse renderings which contain no less and no more than the originals.

This book is concluded by a discussion of the rhythms and metres of Sappho and by a full vocabulary. The latter is a distinctive feature, and in providing it Mr. Haines has made good an omission which was to be regretted in Mr. Lobel's edition. A complete glossary of all the words known to have been used by Sappho, with full references, cannot fail to be a boon to all who are interested in the poetess.

R. M. R.

Early Greek Elegy: the Elegiac Fragments of Callinus, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Tyrtaeus, Solon, Xenophanes and others, edited with Introduction, Text, Critical Notes and Commentary by T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS. Pp. 132. Cardiff, 1928. 19s.

In this edition of the fragments of Early Greek Elegy the author wishes to emphasise two main points, first 'the close dependence of the early elegists upon the language and thought of the Homeric poems'; and secondly certain questions of dialect. The first is the main theme of the commentary, where it is shown that the elegists habitually place words or groups of words in the same positions as they normally held in Homeric hexameters, while pentameters are frequently concluded either with the first half of a Homeric line or with a 'clipped' version of its ending. For this reason the pentameters show less linguistic similarity to Homer than the hexameters; for just as middles were for metrical reasons often reduced to actives (e.g. $\delta\delta\epsilon\rho\alpha$ at the end of the Homeric hexameter becomes $\delta\delta\epsilon$ at the end of the pentameter), so long forms, for example genitives in - $\omega\sigma$, were replaced by short ones, so that $\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ $\xi\zeta$ $\delta\delta\epsilon\rho\omega$ (*Iliad*, 5. 513) is turned into $\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ $\xi\zeta$ $\delta\delta\epsilon\rho\omega$ in order to end a pentameter in Tyrtaeus 3. 3. The point is an interesting one, though it is perhaps overdone.

With regard to dialect, the author divides the elegists into two groups, one containing those whose native dialect was Ionic, the other those who spoke other dialects, using Ionic only as a literary medium; and certain general differences are noted. The greater part of the introduction is devoted to a discussion of a variety of dialectal questions, in dealing with which full use is made of the evidence of Ionic inscriptions. The text is good and does not differ materially from that of Diehl (*Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, vol. 1, 1922). The fragments are conveniently presented together with the words with which Athenaeus, or whoever it was, introduced them.

The book is a scholarly piece of work and is a worthy successor to the edition of Theognis by the same author. It is regrettable that there is neither index nor glossary, though the lack of the latter is partly compensated for by the lists of words not occurring in Homer, Hesiod or the Homeric Hymns with which the commentary to each author is prefixed.

R. M. R.

Geschichte des Hellenismus. Von JULIUS KAERST. Zweiter Band. Das Wesen des Hellenismus. Zweite Auflage. Pp. xii + 409. Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1926.

It is superfluous to insist on the many excellences of this well-known work. The second edition, though it includes many reconsiderations of Hellenistic problems in the light of fresh discoveries or fresh research, follows in essentials the lines of the first. The whole work is conceived in the large spirit of universal history, and herein lies its peculiar value for students who do not wish to confine themselves to a particular epoch, but find interest in following one period into another, and in tracing the survivals of an earlier epoch in a later. The history of Greek civilisation and thought is an admirable field for this kind of study. Hellenistic culture in particular is of great interest for the student of the Byzantine Empire, and since the present volume is largely concerned with the culture and religion of the Hellenistic age, it seems worth while to stress a few points in which the Byzantine Empire appears definitely to carry on the Hellenistic tradition. The autocracy of the Byzantine Emperors and their Court ceremonials have many features derived from the Courts of Alexander and the Diadochi, and this remark applies equally to the highly developed Byzantine Bureaucracy. The autocracy of the Byzantine Emperors was, like that of the Diadochi, tempered by a spirit of *ἐλευθεριότης*; with them, as with the Hellenistic monarchs, the dynastic idea ultimately became prominent, whatever may have been the original theory of election by the army. Both epochs witnessed an increase of the influence of women in governing circles. The Byzantine Empire developed the idea of the *οικουμένη*, first really conceived in the Hellenistic age, and both civilisations were strongly influenced by orientalism. In each case a centralising tendency served to enhance the powers of the military governor at the expense of the civil, and the employment of mercenary troops increased. In taxation the Byzantine land-tax has many features in common with the Ptolemaic system. In religion the syncretism which is so marked a feature in the Hellenistic period was an admirable preparation for the universal religion of Christianity, but there was much superstition in both cases. The asceticism which marks Cynicism and Stoicism is a forerunner of Byzantine monasticism, and the Cynic has something in common with the begging monk. The ideal of *ἀσκησις* corresponds to that of the Byzantine hesychast, and both Hellenism and Byzantinism witnessed an increasing desire on the part of large numbers of the population to withdraw themselves from a troublous world. In the social sphere the tendency to specialisation and hereditary callings manifested in the Hellenistic kingdoms is also a marked feature of Byzantine society with its guilds, and in intellectual matters there is in both cases more of the universalising than the creative. The inspiration of a national consciousness is lacking.

The specialist student of the Hellenistic epoch will find no lack of material in Kaerst's thorough volume, but in a short notice of a work conceived in so large a spirit it seems more useful to indicate its value to the student of Hellenic continuity than to dwell upon minute details.

The Work and Life of Solon. By KATHLEEN J. FREEMAN. Pp. 236. University of Wales Press Board and Humphrey Milford, 1926. 10s.

THE object of this book is not to propound new theories about Solon, but to sum up the present state of knowledge concerning him. Written before the appearance of vol. iv. of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and of Seltman's *Athens*, it does not contain all the latest

information, but it takes account of most of the important publications bearing on Solon. It fails to mention a few points which deserve notice in a work which aims at completeness, e.g. the 'Solonian' Boule at Chios; the law concerning freedom of association (*Digest* 47. 22. 4); the building regulations of Alexandria (Papyrus Halensis I.), which were an obvious replica of a measure of Solon; Beloch's and De Sanctis' alternative dating for the conquest of Sigeum. A little more might have been said about Solon's industrial policy, the fruits of which are on view in any museum collection of Attic pottery. But it leaves no essential point un-discussed: in particular, it gives an unusually full account of Solon's general code of laws.

Miss Freeman reviews the numerous controversial questions arising out of Solon's activities in a judicious spirit and with laudable succinctness. As examples of neat reasoning we might quote her notes on the *ἀποι* and the *ἀκριβέποι*, her interpretation of Aristotle on the coinage-reform, and her rehabilitation of Epimenides as a historical personage. Here and there she drops an unguarded expression: she speaks of the 'vanishing' of the Attic yeomanry; she accepts without discussion the conjectures of Aristotle about the Thesmophetae; and she does not satisfy our doubts as to the authorship of statutes fathered upon Solon by the Attic orators, for instead of probing these one by one as to their authenticity she merely utters a general warning against the trustworthiness of the orators. Conversely she sometimes lets herself be caught in several minds: on pp. 51, 55 and 81 n. 5 she adopts three variant attitudes in regard to the Solonian *εἴρεσις*. But in general Miss Freeman gives a lead in the right direction. Her book should prove very useful as an introduction to the detailed study of Solon.

Emporoi: Data on Trade and Traders in Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle.
By H. KNORRINGA. Pp. 144. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1926.

This volume, as its sub-title indicates, is intended to serve as a quarry rather than as a finished structure. In order to fulfil this purpose, its collection of references should be approximately complete and arranged under subject headings. It cannot be said that Dr. Knorringa's work adequately meets these conditions. To say nothing of the omission of isolated passages, e.g. Herodotus' observations on the trade of the Black Sea, and Thucydides' allusion to the *κατασκευὴν τῶν ἀποιῶν* from the Peloponnesian inland (I. 120), no information is given about the commercial functions of *ἐμπόροι*, and little said about parties. Moreover, the reader is left to sort out for himself the somewhat miscellaneous data provided in the longer chapters, e.g. on Herodotus and Thucydides. Dr. Knorringa's book, therefore, cannot safely be used as a substitute for first-hand research. But it will be found useful on some special points, e.g. in the interpretation of Homer's allusions to trade, which the author discusses in a very scholarly fashion, and in the concluding summary on the celebrated Bücher-Beloch controversy.

Dr. Knorringa's numerous small deviations from established English idiom need not be found disturbing; but 'strategist' (for 'strategus,' p. 129) may mislead, and in the equation '300 talents = 131,000 (sic) kilogrammes = 13.1 tons' (p. 61) there is a superfluous zero.

La peinture des vases grecs. By GEORGES NICOLE. Pp. 48; 64 plates. Paris and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926.

This is the first classical volume in a new series. Mr. Nicole claims that Greek vases are a short cut to knowledge of the ancient world. 'On aura, je crois, un tableau plus instantané et plus varié du monde grec en feuilletant les grands recueils où sont réunies des centaines de peintures de vases, qu'en relisant les épopées, les drames et les histoires grecs. L'œil fixé sur une image a une puissance d'évocation plus forte que l'entendement appliqué à un texte.' The adjectives are well chosen. And 'feuilletant' is good. So is 'relisant.' Mr. Nicole is abreast of the times. There are a good many persons who are willing to

acquire information so long as absolutely no effort is required of them: and these form the public for which this book is intended.

Most of the sixty-four plates in heliogravure are from photographs, and good ones; some are from the drawings in Furtwängler-Reichhold (greatly reduced), and one or two from other publications. The process chosen seldom gives any notion of the precision of Greek drawing; but the public for which the book is intended dislikes precision and values what is known as the portrait finish. A good point is that Reichhold's drawings are reproduced photographically, not (as often in Perrot and even in more recent books) transformed by redrawing into detestable caricatures.

No two anthologists would make the same choice of pictures. Mr. Nicoll's choice includes a number of pieces which could hardly have been omitted: other pieces, less familiar, are the more welcome:—the Minoan jug in Marseilles (Pl. I.), the black-figure side of the Andoclean amphora in the Louvre (Pl. XVIII.), the miraculous Atalanta, almost inaccessible hitherto (Pl. XXIX.). Others could be spared; and the balance of the book is not perfect, either in plates or in text. None of the grand Attic vases of the late eighth or the seventh century find a place: instead, an Etrurian danb. No protocorinthian. No Corinthian except a couple of cheap jugs. Two of those damnable Nicosthenic neck-amphorae (Pl. XVI.), a repainted Andocides (Pl. XX.), a page of second-rate cups (Pl. XXII.): nothing of Euthymides (except a slighting tag in the text); nothing Cleophradean. The third quarter of the fifth century under-represented (Pl. XLIII. is nothing), the fourth style over-represented. Let us be frank: the stamnos Pl. XLVI. is beautiful, and there is beauty in the Median hydriae (Pls. XLIV. and XLV.): but the Telos vase (Pl. XLVII.) is mere vulgarity; Pls. XLVIII. and XLIX. are little better, and Pls. L. and LI. almost touch bottom. Pl. LV., a boring Apulian vase, might have been replaced by a work of art—one of the phryx kraters. The selection of white lekythoi is unworthy. The Gmatis vase (Pl. LXIV.) is not a very good specimen of its class.

The text, like the pictures, is partial to Ionia, Boeotia, Nicosthenes, and Melidias.

The dates, both under the pictures and in the text, will provide a succession of surprises. Pl. IV., the Lévy cincochoe, 'mid sixth century'—same period as the Chæretan hydria Pl. V.; Pl. VIII., Corinthian jugs, 'mid sixth century'; Pl. XI., Attic dinos, 'mid sixth century'—same date as the Anassa vase Pl. XIII.; Pl. XXIX., 1. the Euxine painter's Atalanta, 'beginning of the fifth century'; Pl. XXXI., Smikros stamnos, 'first quarter of the fifth century'; Pl. L., gigantomachy from Melos, 'mid fourth century'; Pl. LIV., treated after the Darius vase; Pl. LVII., Pausades alabastron, 'about 400'; p. 19, the François vase contemporary with the Siphnian frieze; p. 22, no important fabrics founded in South Italy until the second half of the fourth century; p. 28, the four-stroke sigma showing Brygos to be later than Euphronios, Douris, and Hieron.

Other novelties must be due to misprints or to such slips as creep into long books mysteriously: Pl. VIII., amphorae instead of jugs; Pl. XII., Clytias (right in the text); Pl. XXI., hydria in the Louvre instead of cup in London (right in the text); Pl. XXX. and text p. 26, potter Maeron and painter Hieron instead of painter Maeron and potter Hieron, and 'Spinelli collection, Naples' instead of 'Boston, twenty years ago in the Spinelli collection at Acerra'; Pl. XXXI., crater instead of stamnos; Pl. LVII., 'dancing inaendae'; Pl. LVIII. and text p. 29, 'cup signed by Sebastes'; p. 29, Glaukythés; p. 27, Croesus crater instead of amphora; p. 28, Orainos; 'the painter Ambrosios' on p. 24 is new to me, and 'the great painter Polygnotos of Samos' on p. 29. 'Sir Evans' (p. 9) I imagine to be a gallicism.

The plate of shapes on p. 8 is no better, I fear, than most such plates: many of the figures recall Greek vases, but the plate looks more like the price-list of a dealer in garden-ornaments and tasteful tombstones, Euston Road, N.W. It is hard to believe that the amphora, Fig. 1b, served the purpose of our sealed bottles, or that the stamnos is derived from the kelohe; and curious to find 'search for difficulties and cleverness at foreshortening' among the peculiarities of Epictetos (p. 23), or the drapery of Maeron described as awkwardly schematised.

It is not easy to get printers to stick a thing the right way up on the page, even when the ground-line is given; and so the pictures on Pls. XXVII., LIX. and LX., both here and in the original publications, are spoilt by being lopsided. In Pl. XXVI. the psykter has

lost its lip in rephotographing. In Pl. XXXIV, the photograph has been pared round to make the shape clearer, and painted up to make the figures and inscriptions stand out: with the usual result—look at the garment of Euthymos, look at the foot of the vase.

Let us end as we began with a quotation: 'Le seul reproche qu'on puisse adresser à la plupart des poteries grecques est la sévérité de leur coloris. . . . L'élégance et la pureté des contours ne peuvent éviter au visiteur d'une galerie de vases antiques d'être fatigué à la longue par la tonalité grave. . . .' Mr. Nicole understands his public, and his book will probably be a success.

J. D. B.

Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt (*Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, xii. 3). By FREDERIK POULSEN. (Pp. 48; 93 figs. on 51 plates.) Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1927.

Dr. Poulsen describes a group of Attic vases and Etruscan bronzes, found at Orvieto, and acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1924. The things are fine, the description and appreciation worthy of them, the illustrations many and good. The earliest of the vases is a b.f. amphora of Karo's 'affected' class. Dr. Poulsen speaks of 'the affected master,' and the whole class is conservably the work of a single hand. But the 'affected' vases are not, as he states, all amphorae or neck-amphorae: there are hydriai—most probably the Boston hydria F.R. iii. p. 222 Fig. 106, certainly that in Madrid, Leroux Pl. III. (= Pfuhl, Fig. 243); and cups, two in the Vatican, one with Herakles pursuing a man, and a rider attended, the other with a rider attended on each half of the outside, both with swans under the handles. The bibliography of the affected vases might have included Buschor's fine page in *E.R.* The earliest of the red-figured vases is a cup by Oltes, the latest a stamnos by the Kleophon painter.

For the authorship of Munich 2310 and 2313 (p. 13) I refer to *J.H.S.*, xlii. Pl. IV., and my text there: they are earlier than Munich 2311, but inseparable from it. Dr. Poulsen treats the question of Douris and the Triptolemos painter fairly; but against his argument on p. 19 I would repeat what I said in *J.H.S.* xxxix. p. 84. P. 12, it was Hauser, not Pfuhl, who attributed the Vivenzio hydria to the Kleophrades painter; and the characterisation of the Berlin painter is based not on Hoppiu, as would appear from the note, but on *F.A.* p. 38. The Ampurise fragment mentioned on p. 21 is not, I believe, by Macon, but by the painter of Louvre G456. The objects in the field on the Macon cup, p. 26, are not sponges in bags but bagfuls of balls. I cannot agree that the Copenhagen hydria by the Berlin painter, good as it is, is superior to the beautiful panathenaic amphora by the same artist in Florence.

The bronzes figured here are an answer to those who still disparage Etruscan art and the civilisation of Etruria. The sturdy boy with the ram (Figs. 65-6) is an excellent work of art; and it is something else as well, the sign of an exceedingly strong, healthy, and humorous people. And then the wiry gymnast (gymnast rather than acrobat!) (Figs. 78-9); and the pop-eyed deliberate discobolus (Fig. 69); and the cutty wee dancing-queen (Figs. 67-8); and the exquisite grace of the ladies and lampstands: what a wealth of vivid beauty! Because these things—imported pottery, native bronze-work—are the very expression of Etruscan life, the author has called his book not 'Bronzes and Vases, from Orvieto, in Copenhagen,' but 'From an old Etruscan City.'

J. D. B.

Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum. By H. B. WALTERS. London, 1926. Pp. 412, with 44 plates. £2 10s.

The last catalogue of the British Museum gems was published nearly forty years ago. Since then the collection has increased greatly; and our knowledge of the subject very greatly, thanks to Fortwängler. The new catalogue, modestly described as a 'revised and enlarged

edition² of the old, takes account of the new knowledge, describes the gems fully, figures a very large proportion of them, and adds a most useful introduction. The ancient jewellery and the ancient rings in the British Museum have been excellently catalogued by Mr. F. H. Marshall: the collection of ancient gems, both for representativeness and for number of fine pieces, is probably unsurpassed in the world, and Mr. Walters has done a great service by providing a catalogue to set beside Mr. Marshall's. Much, even after Furtwängler, remains to be done: in particular, Etruscan and Italic gem-engraving must be gone into afresh, the new material worked in, the scarab-shapes studied, the places of fabrication determined; and Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman gems must be arranged chronologically and chorologically. The next great exploration of the vast field will be materially assisted by this catalogue.

A word on terminology. Mr. Walters uses the word *scarabaeoid* for two quite different things: the pic-shape popular with the Greeks; and the *scarab* in which the beetle is replaced by a relief. For the second, 'quasi-scarab,' which he uses once, is much better: the first may keep the name *scaraboid*. *Scaraboid*, let us hope, not *scarabaeoid*, which is more like a worm than a word. *Scaraboid* from *skárabos* is just as 'correct' as *scarabaeoid* from *skárabaios*; not that that matters. Again, 'cable' is used for two different patterns: the border which consists of two lines with hatching between; and the guilloché: let us call the first 'hatched border' and keep 'cable' for the second.

1-154, Minoan and Mycenaean periods. 52, the first suggestion—a deer—must be the right one. 91-96 might have been kept apart from the purely Mycenaean stones.

155-250, geometric period, which is made to include the seventh century. 173, Baur has shown that the four-horseleg centaur is not later than the other, so that there is no reason for bringing the gem down to the sixth century. 197, 182, and 191 are surely Mycenaean, not 'Melian' or 'geometric': these are the only instances I have noticed of a confusion which is often made: Mycenaean and Melian (and even fifth- or fourth-century animal gems) are apt to be lumped together under the heading of 'Island gems,' which Mr. Walters happily avoids: so in Perrot's *Histoire de l'Art*, and in E. Gardner's *Greek Sculptors* (pp. 67-8). The class thus constituted is a useful one, for it helps to establish a close connexion between Mycenaean art and classical. Mr. Walters does not use this illicit aid, but he is perhaps disposed to overstate the Mycenaean element in the new art which succeeds the geometric in the late eighth and the seventh centuries—he speaks of a 'recrudescence of the Mycenaean art-tradition' (p. xxviii)—and to undervalue the Oriental heaven; and also, since Ionia, on this theory, was the repository of Mycenaean tradition, to land the Ionians at the expense of the 'Dorians' (p. xxxiii).

251-436, Orientalising gems. Mixed pickles. 320 seems out of place: there is nothing orientalising in it, is there? nor can it be as early as 460: it must have been made in Italy in the third or second century B.C. 321, Tharros class. 405, doubtful if a necklace. 434 is surely not so early as 480 B.C. 435, may not the battle be later than the dog?

437-506, archaic Greek. These are here divided into an Eastern and a Western group; but it is often hard to say whether the gem is the one or the other: and Mr. Walters classes as Western certain gems which seem characteristically Eastern, such as 465, 470, 496. 437: *Leves House Gems* Pl. A, 6, is not this stone, but 494: the head is part of the aegis, not of the helmet. 464 is not archaic. 471 and 473 perhaps Etruscan for all the neglected beetle. 479, the explanation of the gold chariot of Theodoros as a scarab is generally abandoned. 481, picking up the diadem; the artist is not so 'limited' as all that. 490 is published by Furtwängler, *A.G.* Pl. VIII. 53. 497: I pointed out in *Leves House Gems*, p. 13, that Furtwängler was wrong in calling this figure bearded, corseleted, and male. 503, Oriental, not Greek. 505, winged bull, not griffin.

507-564, Greek, 'finest period.' The term 'finest period' has done much harm, and ought to be given a rest. In gems it is unfair on the masterpieces of the archaic period, which hardly receives justice in the introduction (pp. xxiv-v). 507, isn't the inscription later? 508, the vase mentioned is not late fifth century, but Campanian of the late fourth. 511, F. was wrong in giving the goose to Dexamenos. 519 is published *L.B.G.*, Pl. A, 2. 523, not a sea-bull with fish-tail, but a bull-cock. 525 counsels caution: wouldn't one call it Etruscan? yet it is a crystal scaraboid. 527, not mid fifth century, but a masterpiece of late archaic art, about 480. 529, an ugly gem, but quite possibly, as F. suggested, by

Dexamenes, who was wonderful at animals, flabby at people: in 536 and 547, on the other hand, I confess that I cannot see any connexion with Dexamenes: the Warren Dexamenes, by the way, disproves the assertion (p. 141) that there are no portraits on Greek gems before Alexander: see also *L.H.G.* p. 48. 537, fourth century? 538, earlier than 537. 552, the Peleus vase is not from the end of the fifth century, but from well on in the fourth. 557, the restoration should have been omitted in the plate: Chiron is better than Cheiron both in English and in Greek: horse's ears not satyr's ears. 558, later. 561, see *L.H.G.* p. 112: the design of this and the many replicas is inspired by some fifth-century figure, but are any of the stones fifth century? 562 and 563: this is not the manner of Dexamenes. 563 is also published by E. Gardner in *The Art of Greece*, but described, I know not why, as a lady. 564, not Eros and Anteros, since wingless.

565-616, 'late Greek (fourth century)'. One sees what is meant; but it is not customary to call the fourth century late Greek. In the same way it is disconcerting to have the word 'transitional' applied to the art of Aegina and of the early *s.t.* vases (p. xlii), instead of to the succeeding period; but it is a bad word however used. 600, the restoration should have been omitted. 601, the inscription has been doubted; but Mr. Warren told me that he saw the gem while it was still with its first owner, a noble Sicilian whose name has escaped me, and before the inscription had been noticed. Onatas is put in the fourth century on p. xxvi, he and Olympios in the fifth on p. xxii. 602 (and 1355) the name is Thamyra, not Thamyros. 604: Miss Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Fig. 145, p. 51, rightly in my opinion, condemns the gem as false. 608, the reference to F's plate is given, but not to his *J.G.* iii. p. 306, where he calls the stone Augustan. Not a peplos but a wrap.

611-947, Etruscan scarabs. These are divided into three groups—archaic, middle, and late Etruscan—but it is not always easy to see why a stone is put in one group rather than in another. 611-652, 'archaic Etruscan.' 614, 617, 618, 619, 622, 624, 630, 633, 639, 640, 644, 645, 646 are among those which are not archaic, or not truly archaic: 616 is archaising, not archaic. 626, the wrong way up. 653-704, 'middle Etruscan.' 653 and 667 are archaic. 657, see also p. xlii: the Berlin vase there mentioned is Attic all right, not by any means Etruscan. 680, to the examples of this subject given in *L.H.G.* p. 35 add eard scarabs in the Evans and Arndt collections. 705-790, 'late Etruscan.' But 720 and 773 are archaic, and 769 a masterpiece of the Etruscan free style, not late. 724 is published by Furtwängler, *Pl. X.*, 40: Mr. Walters is right in classing it as Etruscan: F. saw the resemblance to Etruscan, but called it Greek. 730, all the mirror shows is that Philoctetes and Machaon were represented in this form, not that all such scenes represent those two heroes. Is 785 Etruscan? and 790?

948-1017, 'Italic, Etruscising.' 965, see also *L.H.G.* pp. 92-3: 967, is this in place? 1018-52, 'Italic, Hellenising'—but 1025, 1032, 1034?

1143-1240, 'Hellenistic.' 1143, the restorations should have been omitted: the type is not the 'Lemnia', the only resemblance is that the helmet is held in the hand. 1153, fifth century? published by F., *Pl. LXV.*, 6. 1167 (see p. li): the London marble 1857 is not generally admitted to be Alexander at all. 1190, is there really any likeness to the statue from Priene?

1214-3418, 'Græco-Roman.' 1310, the reliefs from Miletus with representations of the Apollo of Knidos should have been mentioned. On the statue reproduced by 1310 and the other gems of the type see also Pomtow in *B.P.W.* 1912, pp. 603-8. The Sieveking gem passed into the Arndt collection: it seemed to me early Roman. 1314, I do not see the resemblance to Piontino or Choiseul. 1433, the statue-groups in the Louvre and elsewhere are more in point than a hypothesis about the Melian. Is 1580 ancient?—1592, 1650? 1670, to describe the wonder-work of Gaius as 'a similar gem' is an undeserved compliment to the London stone. 1758, refer to the publication of the Antiochia (the Budapest and others) in Bruun-Bruckmann. 1829 (and p. xxiii), true that F. at one time condemned the inscription *Solomon*, but he repented later (*J.G.* ii. p. 92). 1853, is not this fourth century? 1875, the stone as well as the inscription modern? 1876, Etruscan. 1910, etc., see Anti in *Mon. Linc.* 26, pp. 645-6. 1942 and 1948-9, Hellenising Italic. 1964, 'Cicero (?)', surely not worth while perpetuating these obsolete denominations. 2034, the inscription false, and the gem? 2043, the problem of the nail remains unsolved: there is another nail-gem (besides those mentioned in *L.H.G.* p. 98) in the Arndt collection

(frontal head and two nails): the nail was sovereign against the falling sickness (E. H. Marshall in *J.H.S.* xxiv, pp. 332-5): see also Schulten in *Arch. Anz.*, 1923-4, p. 8. 2104, fourth century according to F. 3203, the Pasquino is not part of the original. 3225, not Agrippa: a modern copy of the beryl by Agathagoras in Florence, E., Pl. XXXIII, 6.

3419-3937, canoes: the 'fifth-century canoe in the Bibliothèque Nationale,' mentioned on p. lvii, has been exploded by F.: just look at it. 3553, inscription ΑΛΛΕΣ (genitive) not ΑΛΛΕΑΙ (s). 3577, the great engraver wrote his name Διοσκουρίδης , the English then is *Dioskourides* or better *Dioscurides*; not *Dioscorides*, the form used throughout the catalogue. 3708, supply poem $\delta\epsilon$ [or].

J. D. B.

A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: the Sculptures of the Conservatori: by members of the BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME; edited by H. STUART JONES. Pp. 407; 124 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

The catalogue of the Capitoline sculptures, begun in 1905, appeared in 1912. The companion volume has been long awaited: and both the editor and the British School are to be congratulated on the completion of a laborious and valuable piece of work. Many hands have contributed; but after Prof. Stuart Jones, it is to his successors in the headship of the School at Rome, Dr. Ashby, Mrs. Strong, and Mr. Ashmole, that our gratitude is chiefly due. The text of the Conservatori catalogue is uniform with that of the Capitoline; but a larger page has been chosen for the volume of plates, and the scale of the illustrations is larger, the photography and the collotyping even better than before. The sculptures have been rearranged since the catalogue was compiled, and many of them vastly improved by the removal of restorations; but the inconvenience to the reader from the rearrangement is slight; and as to the removal of restorations, he will be so thankful that it has taken place that he will never regret its not having taken place sooner.

The archival part of the catalogue, mainly the work of Dr. Ashby, deserves all praise. The descriptions of the sculptures are full and accurate, and the more important pieces are treated, as is just, at considerable length. Aesthetic comment is appropriately rare. Where it goes beyond a 'good work' or 'poor work' one feels that it is owing to a chivalrous desire to defend the indefensible; hence the neo-attic crater is termed 'pleasing' (p. 40): the Aurelian reliefs are said to possess considerable artistic value and the racial types on them to be well-observed (p. 24); and the bust of Commodus, which many would select as the worst piece of sculpture extant from antiquity, is extolled with truly Asiatic amplitude (p. 141). Such hopeless enthusiasms one cannot but respect.

And now a few trifling faults and omissions: more than this, in a composite work, read and re-read by our own scholars and, as the preface states, by Dr. Amelung, one would not expect to find. The writers have not agreed upon a uniform terminology for garments: 'chiton' is used for Doric peplos as well as for Ionic chiton; 'peplos' for himation and Ionic himation as well as for Doric peplos. There are also tunica, mantles, and pallia. Very occasionally the description is wrong whatever the terminology: the woman on the Equiline stole is said to be wearing Ionic himation and epiblema, Penelope a Doric chiton; the stock term *apoxyomenos* is misused on p. 198; the dresses of the Charites are undescribed on p. 39, and the 'third garment' on p. 119 is impossible.

Pp. 39-40, crater with reliefs: 'the group on one side suggests the grave-reliefs of the fourth century, while the three Charites are taken from Attic art of the beginning of the fifth.' Arnott has shown that the main features of the Paris and Helen go back to the fifth century, since they occur on a vase of about 410-400 (see *Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg*, p. 88, and also Amelung, *Vat. Kat.* II, pp. 150-2); and they may be traced still further back, for a vase of about 420 has them, Berlin inv. 30036. As to the Charites, they are not taken from true archaic originals, but based on archaistic creations of a later time (see Ed. Schmidt, *Archaisierende Kunst*, p. 30 ff.). P. 43, Spinario, see also Lippold, *Kopenhagen*, pp. 26-8. P. 47, bronze Camillus: unwise to draw conclusions from a 'facial resemblance to the figure by Stephanos,' since the face of the Stephanos youth must have been well

worked over. P. 60, is there anything archaic in the head? the coiffure perhaps—but that was often used in post-archaic art; see Bleher in *Jahrbuch*, 32, pp. 81-6. P. 86, nian in exomis: are we to understand that all Gauls had moultaches? P. 88, relief: jug, not hydria. P. 111, 'the fragment, if a genuine antique, may represent the statue of Zeus dedicated by Hadrian in the Olympieum at Athens: the work seems to be of that date, but more probably the whole is modern work based on some Greek coin': vestiges of composite authorship in this sentence, I think: 'but . . . coin,' and 'if . . . antique' by an interpolator: similar traces, perhaps, in p. 68, No. 3. P. 100, portrait statue: a replica, so far as the body is concerned, of the Herculanean matron, and not merely inspired by the same original. P. 134, Hermes: the coin of Aenus is flimsy evidence for the purse as an attribute of Hermes in Hellenistic times. P. 140, Heracles: the Capitoline colossus is a variant, standing well apart from the Conservatori statue and its replicas: the Lateran replica of the head is published in E.A. 2164. P. 156, replica of Eros Centocelle: Furtwängler's view that the original was Praxitelean is recorded, but not the view that it was earlier and related to the art of Kephisodotos (Ameling, *Vat. Kat.* ii, pp. 411-12). The Conservatori statue gives one or two parts which are missing in the other replicas. P. 164, replicas of the 'Genitrix': recent discussions of the type in Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 11, Schneider, *Phidias*, pp. 311-14, Studniczka in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1926, pp. 405-6. The Conservatori replica has a certain value because the Louvre statue has been well worked over not only in face but in drapery. P. 169, rhyton: the word crater is not quite appropriate. This rhyton, though no longer a drinking-vessel, reproduces the essential parts of its prototype—horn, metal tip, metal mouthpiece. The animal is not strictly a chimæra. P. 177, couch: see Richter, *Furniture*, p. 131 and Figs. 311-12: the reliefs are said to be heads of maenads, but aren't they heads of Eros?—in the part of a vine-tender, somewhat as in the Richmond group. The notion that such heads on couches represent a 'genius fuleri' is based on a misconception of Juvenal's style and meaning. How the poet's lines 'clearly show that the heads had a prophylactic function' I do not quite understand. P. 178, since the appearance of the catalogue, a good front-view of the bronze head of Constant, and a discussion of its style and technique, have been published by Kluge and Lehman-Hartleben in *Die Antiken Grossbronzen*, and so of the Camillus. P. 194, the clay banqueter is not Etruscan, but of Samo-Milesian type. P. 197, the rattle of the gorgoneion vase is an accident. P. 197, the female figure No. 20 is more important than might appear from the text: it is said to be 'of a sixth-century type often found in Rhodes,' and is compared with *B.M. Terracottas*, Pl. XVII: but the London figures belong to the common Samo-Milesian class, whereas ours belong to an earlier class, the gorgoneion fabric, to use Maximova's term, and stands to the female-head vases of that fabric (Maximova, *Ant. Fig. Vasi*, Pl. XII, 95) as the Samo-Milesian head-vases to Samo-Milesian figurines. This is the only full-length female of this fabric I have ever seen: a precious little example of Eastern Greek art at the end of the seventh century. Pp. 206-8, wall-painting with Fannius and Fabius: what are the 'Campanian vase-paintings of the third and second centuries' which Helbig compares? The final paragraph (pp. 207-8) contains some peculiar statements about ancient painting: (1) the view that an 'arrangement in tiers' (friezes are meant) 'is distinctively Ionian' is one of the tenets of a defunct Panionism; (2) this frieze arrangement is quite different from the Polygnotan arrangement in tiers; (3) there is no proof that Polygnotos and his fellows painted on a cream ground. P. 208, female torso: published by Bulle in *Archaisierende griechische Kunstplastik* (1918), Pl. II., 27. P. 211, the charioteer: 'the nudity of the figure is without parallel in the representation of a charioteer,' and so already Helbig; but the driver on the Panathlos cup in London (F.R. Pl. 23) is practically naked: and stark naked the charioteer of a fine b.f. hydria in London (see this number of the *Journal*, Pl. XIII), and on another in Dorchester House. The likeness to the Omphalos Apollo is more striking now that the classicistic modern nose is removed. P. 212, stele from the Esquiline: 'the stele of Alcxenor of Naxos and his dog' is a sbp, the 'stele of a girl in Venice' has been in Berlin for a good many years. P. 213, archaic frieze with horsemen: the Lorrain plaques have no stylistic connexion with this, nor did Moretti say they had: the Loeb tripods might perhaps have been compared. P. 217, Penelope: other examples of the use of the motive for Penelope on an Attic lekythos and an Etruscan scabb. P. 221, Priapus: see also Bruno-Bruckmann

text to Pl. 659: doubtful if a copy of any archaic original. P. 222, herm No. 15, not a copy of the same head as No. 17; and neither is after the Hermes of Alcamenes (see Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst*, pp. 43-6). P. 237, No. 34, Venus: see E.A. 1542 (with list of replicas) and 2081 and 2596-8. P. 249 (and p. 170), term of Herakles, see E.A. 2730. P. 347, Campana relief with Theseus and Ariadne: it is not easy to see affinity between this and 'the fifth-century Attic series of reliefs depicting subjects from tragedy, of which the Orpheus and Eurydice is an example.'

Arrotarian, caduceus, chiton, chlamys, cithara, fibula, himation, palaestra, patēra, penis, pergola, petasus, phallus, plectrum, pubes, pontello, quadriga, quasi, sistrum, stelo, and toga are among the words which, since they are printed in italics, are not considered English: some of them have been English for centuries. The same purism may be observed in British film-captions, where all hard words are put in inverted commas.

There are very few misprints. De Clercq is the collector's name, the author of the manual is Leclercq.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 5 = Louvre 4. By E. POTTIER.
Paris: E. Champion, 1927.

The fourth instalment of the Louvre Corpus is devoted to vases from Troy and Yortan, Cypriot vases, and Attic black-figure and red-figure. The Yortan bibliography does not mention Forsythe's account of the collection in the British Museum (*B.M. Cat.*, I, 1, published in 1925): the Louvre collection is naturally superior, but many of the shapes come out better in Forsythe's excellent photographs and drawings: the Yortan plates of the Corpus, as well as other plates, have suffered in the deadly process of blocking out the background (see, for example, Pl. IP, h 1). The b.f. vases are mostly neck-amphorae of various kinds. The pretty vintage scene (Pl. XXIX, 3) deserves a publication in the size of the original. The neck-amphora published in Pl. XXX, 9, and Pl. XXXI, 3 is an important vase, probably by Exekias: it is in dreadful condition, and pieces like this, or like Pl. XLVII, 6-7, raise the question whether it might not be better, in the long run, to publish fewer vases, but those clean. This is a matter upon which each of the older museums must make up its mind: one would wish that, if possible, cleaning should go hand in hand with photography and publication. Pl. XXXIX, 2, see p. 90 of this number of the *Journal*: Pl. XXXIX, 5, *ibid.*, p. 92; Pl. XL, 6, *ibid.*, p. 83; Pl. XLIII, 1, *ibid.*, p. 83; Pl. XLIX, 3: it is suggested that the graffiti should be interpreted as *εἰς ἑμένα* (I take it that *εἰς ἑμένα* is meant) or *εἰς ἑμένα*; but these interpretations are disposed of by other neck-amphorae in the same style—probably by the Nicoxenos painter—and bearing similar graffiti: these graffiti vary in details, but the chief elements are *εε* and *εε* as here (B.M. B 238, Würzburg 295, and a vase with Cerberus and Sisyphus in the Fains collection: compare also Munich 1627, Jahn 307). *Rf. vases.* Pl. XX, 3, should not the 315 of the height be 375? Pl. XX, 7 and 9, are not mouth and neck either modern or alien? Pl. XXI, 8, recalls the Hector painter and is to be put somewhere in his neighbourhood. Pl. XXI, 9-10 (G531): two other vases by the same hand as this had little stamnos are a pelike in the Marshall Brooks collection (Passeri 3; Pls. XXVII, XXVIII) and another in Madrid (11123; Ousario, Pl. X, 2). Pl. XXIII, 1 and 3 (G423): by the Komuris painter (*Att. Vas.*, p. 415). I believe Mr. Pottier's original reading of the inscription to be right. Pl. XXIII, 4-6 (G424), by the same artist, who may be called the Menelaos painter after this vase, a bell-krater in New York (komos), a stamnos also in New York (06.1021, 178: *Coll. Cameron*, p. 33), and a pelike in London (E 376). Pl. XXIII, 7 and 10 (A 488): by the Barclay painter: see C.F.A. Oxford, Pl. 47, 18-20). Pl. XXIII, 9 and 12 (A 258): by a late mannerist. Pl. XXIV, 6 and 3 (G 349): the menial picture is the obverse: vestiges of the style of the school of Maeron; probably by the painter of the Syracuse pelike. Pl. XXV, 5 and 7 (G 354), continuation of the style of the Flying Angel painter: by the same hand, column-kraters in China (1840: phot. Alinari: komos), Florence (B. *Jahreshefte*, 8, p. 145, and 10, p. 118: 'Vagnonville vase') and London (E 487). Pl. XXVIII, 1, the draped figure has reserved hair, is therefore an old man like Phineus in Pl. XXVII, 8, and thus Oineus, not Deianeira.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum : United States of America 1, Hoppin and Gallatin Collections. By J. C. HORTIN and ALBERT GALLATIN. Paris: E. Champion, 1927.

This is the first American fascicule of the Corpus, and the first concerned with private collections. Each collector has catalogued his own vases, and the classification has been supervised by Mr. Pottier. There are many fine pieces; and fortunately the scale of the reproduction is more generous than in most of the previous fascicules. The photographs are American, the collotypes and the printing of the text French. The printing has been done well, and misprints are rare—except on the wrapper, which evidently escaped proof-reading, hence *november, december, greek, Great-Britain*, besides *D. J. Hoparth* and *J. N. Pryce*.

(i) The Hoppin collection, now, by the generosity of the late owner, in the Fogg Museum at Harvard. Pl. I., 1 is not true Corinthian, but Italo-Corinthian. Pl. I., 6 has evidently suffered from restoration. Pl. I., 11 is not Laconian, but of a well-known fabric which is often falsely called Corinthian, but is really either Attic or Attico-Bocotian: the vases are mostly cups like this, or cotylai: a few examples, the cups Athens 649 and 1106, the cup B.M. 1920, 2-10, 1, and a cotyle in Cambridge. Pl. III., this handsome column-krater is not Chalcidian, although it shows Chalcidian influence, but Attic. Pl. IV., 1, this Bocotian oinochoe is hardly to be called geometric, since it must belong to the same period as the work of Gamades. Pl. IV., 10, cf. *Edgar Cairo Cat.*, Pl. 10, No. 26197: doubtful if Attic. Pl. VI., the panathenaic amphora: see also Ed. Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst*, p. 87: the costume is misdescribed, for the swallow-tails belong to a short mantle and not to the sleeves of the chiton, and the border is not a dotted border. It is often stated that the incised lines on *b.c.* vases were filled in with white, but I wonder whether there are any certain examples. Pl. VII., the inscription seems not quite accurately transcribed; that it was meant to contain the name of Kolchos is improbable. Pl. IX., the effect of the fine Douris cup is marred by bad paging: the medallion is set unevenly in a dissegmented circle, and the base-line is tilted up. Moreover, the satyr has been bowdlerised. Is it beyond the English language to provide a synonym for Buckelböckchen? or is it the harmonious sound of the word that makes it such a favourite with our archaeologists? Pl. XI., the interest of this cup by the Pantheia painter might be overlooked, owing to the bad placing of the pictures on the page. The warrior on A is not a hoplitodromos as the text calls him, for he has a spear, but a warrior; what he holds is not a palm-branch, but a laurel or the like; and he is laying it at the feet not of the Nike but of the seated male: Nike is introducing the warrior. To whom? Probably, as the text suggests, Zeus. One cannot help thinking first of a Propertian couplet—*ut caput in magnis ubi non est laqueis signis ponitur ante iucae parva corona pedes*; secondly, of the panhellenic thank-offerings to Zeus after the Persian war. Anyhow, the subject on B is not 'the moment before the start of a race,' except metaphorically (Aesch., *Ag.* 344), but the departure of a warrior, with Nike beckoning to him, and his father sunk in grief. On A, the return of the victor: *deo gloria*. The 'l-shaped object' is a peg. Pl. XII., 4, the satyr's tail is not peeping out of a placket: the garment begins below the tail. I have not succeeded in detecting anything phallic about the pole. Pl. XIII., 3, is assigned to its author in my *Att. Vas.* p. 322, No. 35 *bis*, and Pl. XIII., 8-10, *ibid.*, p. 279, No. 3 (compare especially De Biddler, *Bib. Nat.* p. 507). Pl. XIII., 3 and 6, the positions of the two views on the plate should obviously be interchanged. Pla. XIV.-XV., the stamnos belongs to the group of Polygnotos in the wider sense—just as the Chios painter's does (Pl. XVI., 3-4)—and has no connection with the Achilles painter. The text omits a reference to the drawing of the shape in Caakey, *Geometry*, p. 100. Pl. XVI., 1-2, the footgear is not kothornoi (much less kothurnoi). The short stick held by the second youth suggests that the pair are hunters and that the other's stone is to hit a hare with: compare the London lekythos D 60 (Murray, *Wk. Art.* v. Pl. VI). Pl. XVIII., 1-2, the youth on B is Dionysos, but the seated figure on A is a silen. Pl. XVIII., 3-4, is not Attic but typically Italiote. Pl. XIX., 1, Chiron holds torches, not branches. Pl. XX., 2, yes, the apparent nudity of the woman is due to her clothes having faded away: none of the examples of 'ritual nudity at the tomb' hold water.

(ii) The Gallatin collection. Mr. Gallatin's full and scholarly text calls for little criticism. Pl. 11, 12 and 13, these are porcelain vases of a well-known class which is probably not Greek, but Phoenician or the like. Pl. VI., the foot of the krater does not look as if it belonged, and the handles are at least, as the text says, much mended: one of the chariots seems to be a quadriga. Pl. X., 1, fixing his spear in the ground? Pl. XIV., Mr. Gallatin connects B with A, but on B the warrior seems to be pursuing the woman. Pl. XXII., not an Attic helmet according to the usual terminology. Pl. XXIII., 1, is the charioteer really female? Pl. XXV., 2 and 4, the style recalls Pl. XXVI., 5-6. Pl. XXV., 5-6, the 'tainial' are darts of blood: the objects held by the youths are spits of meat, as suggested, not torches. Pl. XXVI., 11-12, by the painter of the Yale *Iekythos* (*Att. Vas.* p. 145, No. 27). Pl. XXVI., 14, ivy-wreath rather. The vases on Pl. XXVI. are called 'Attic r.f., late,' but hardly any of them are much later than the middle of the century, whereas vases like Pl. XXV., 3, and Pl. XXV., 5-6, are put in an earlier group. Pl. XXX. includes Apulian and other non-Attic vases. For Pl. XXX., 3, compare Buschor, *Krokodil*, p. 11, 3. Pl. XXXI., 8, is classed as Attic, but belongs to an early Campanian fabric which will be discussed in my *Vases in Poland*. Pl. XXXI., 18, is called Italian, but is Attic: cf. Watringer, *G.F. in Tübingen*, Pl. L., 39.

The vases here figured are only a part of the Gallatin collection, for since the text was written, Mr. Gallatin has made a number of important purchases, which it is to be hoped he will publish in due course. Meanwhile we must express our gratitude to him and to the late Dr. Hoppin for their public spirit, and a hope that other collectors will follow their good example.

J. D. B.

Primitive Culture in Greece. By H. J. ROSE. Pp. ix + 245. London: Methuen and Co., 1925. 7s. 6d.

This is a very valuable study of a difficult subject, illuminating to the specialist as well as to the general reader. The latter will find the book interesting, and intelligible without reference to other works. The former will recognise it as important for its method (a point Professor Nilsson has emphasised in his review, *Litteris*, iii. 12 ff.), and suggestive on many particular points.

After enunciating some general principles and sketching the historic antecedents of Greek culture, Professor Rose treats of survivals in belief, in family ritual, in law, and in social and economic life, while ruling out a number of supposed survivals which have loomed large in recent writing. These chapters bring out the fact that in many ways classical Greece was as removed from anything that can be called primitive as we are. The primitive element was there, in survivals the significance of which was commonly lost; recrudescence was liable to take place, as it does still. But the genius of Greece lies in what it made of its raw material, whether it were the raw material of religious emotion or the raw material of art. We are sometimes in danger of an excessive preoccupation with origins; certainly the religious thought of the fifth century has tended to receive less consideration of late from experts than it deserves. Mr. Sheppard's recent paper on the *Elektra* of Sophocles (*Cl. Rev.*, 1927) shows what advances can be made in delicacy of interpretation. It is, again, useful to be reminded by Professor Rose of the essential decency of Greek life and ways. Those who have read Licht's *Sittengeschichte* should not fail to take this corrective. It is withal a really interesting and satisfying book.

A. D. N.

Achilles Ombrocrificon, editio F. DIEHL. (*Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*.) Pp. xvi + 270. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925. 11s. 8d.

This Byzantine dream-book, the date of which lies between 813 and 1170, is here edited in a most satisfactory manner with critical preface and notes and an *index verborum* explaining most of the words on which an ordinary Hellenist might stumble. The text

professes to give Indian, Persian, and Egyptian teachings (sometimes repeating itself; p. 29. 5 ff. = p. 63. 12 ff.), which come with all the authority possessed by the ends of the earth, and certainly uses Arabian sources. One may here read what it means if one dreams that one has got drunk on water (p. 67. 2. 12), or that one's donkey's tail has been cut off (p. 185. 5), and much else; the three sources provide useful alternative solutions which save the credit of the art;¹ in the same way astrology always covered its retreat.

The interest of this work for *Kulturgeschichte* is considerable. It professes often to record actual causes submitted to the *δρασκαστήρ* for interpretation, and proudly asserts the success of the predictions. Dreams are apparently, as in Artemidorus, respects of persons: some dreams appear only to kings or Pharaohs (pp. 26. 7; 30. 2; 98. 16; 100. 25) or to the rich (p. 66. 10; 137. 23); their meaning varies according to whether the recipient is king, commoner, beggar, woman, or child; it may be diametrically opposite for poor and rich (p. 52. 20). Normally speaking the interpretation rests on symmetry or parallelism, sometimes on contraries (p. 14. 1; 77. 26; 192. 3; cf. *Apul. Met.* iv. 27); the case of telling a dream within a dream (p. 11. 12) is interesting.

We find noteworthy allusions to judaizing (p. 8), fire-worship (p. 9; 121. 2), superstition of left and right (p. 59. 9, left testicle connected with daughters, right with sons), divine right (p. 16. 6 and 127. 11, king like sun; p. 59. 24 ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὸ βασιλεῖν αὐτοῦ; p. 75. 27 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ προσημασίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ἀπόδειξις λαλήσει ψήδου), horns of honour (p. 20. 3; 51. 15; 172. 3; 227. 5), the luckiness of finding the Cross (p. 75. 1; on the popularity of the scene in art cf. E. Kalinka, *Jahreshefte* xxiii. *Beibl.* 142 f.), the superiority of seeing icons not gilt to seeing icons gilt (106. 24), the significance of the colours of garments seen (115 ff.; 167 ff.; 177 f.; 181 f.; of stones, 201), of the various heavenly bodies (127 ff.; Kronos, p. 129. 17, refers to the official in charge of punishments and education; for the second point of the astrological doctrine discussed in my *Sallustiana*, lxxiii. n. 154), star-worship (p. 131. 24 ff.; cf. E. Pfeiffer, Στρογγύλι II), the luck of eating a sheep's head or a pig's head (p. 195. 24; 227. 12; cf. S. Eitrem, *Beibl.* z. griech. *Rel.* ii. 34 ff. on the head).

Drinking water on one's journey in an unknown place is deadly (130. 13, 142. 18); here speaks the voice of experience. Charon survives from antiquity (p. 180. 1; 219. 4), but genuine ancient superstition is not common in Achmes. To ride on an eagle signifies death to kings according to Artemidorus ii. 29, p. 112. 11, *ed. Hecker*, because it is a type of apothecosis; in Achmes, p. 231. 22, it denotes to them eminence and long life.

Again, ἵπποι signifies to Artemidorus, p. 113. 12, robbers; to Achmes, p. 232. 13, those in authority next to the king, and not apparently from a cynical interpretation of the first view.

Achmes assumes Christian belief, and many of the visions are based thereon, but he is not concerned with what may be called ecclesiastical dreams (such as that which revealed the place of the remains of St. Eutychius, Diehl, *Isac.* lat. etc., 1893. 9 f.). He writes a literary Greek with some interesting loan words, such as καβαδά, χαρῶναι, παλαῶδαι; he is noticeably fond of μυστήριον, meaning simply 'secret', as in the Septuagint. The problem of his sources remains, as Drexl remarks, p. vi, to be solved. I note in passing that Achmes nowhere uses such a point of Greek theory as the distinction between *δ-εἶρεσις*, a dream reproducing events of the previous day, and *ὁρασις*, a prophetic dream proper (on which cf. W. Laug, *Das Traumbuch des Synesios von Kyrene*, 44), and suspect that his contact with Greek sources was not great.² For the full solution of this question we need a Corpus of other Byzantine texts on the same subject, such as those published by Drexl in *Λογογραφία* Z' and H' (cf. O. Weinreich, *Phil. Week.*, 1926, 455 f.). This we must hope to have: at present it is our duty to express the warmest thanks to Drexl for his excellent edition. I may be allowed to close this review by referring to a number of emendations proposed by K. Latte in his important review (*Quaest.* ii. 413-426), and by adding one on p. 42. 5 ff. The text given is εἰ δὲ ὁ κατασχῶν ἢ ὁ ὄψους ἐστὶν ἀγνώμονος καὶ νύκτος, ὁ μὲν νεώτερος ἐλθὼν ἐστὶ καὶ παλαιότερον αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ γῆρας ἢ τεχὴ αὐτῷ ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς

¹ Note the address to the sceptic, p. 241. 22.

² He agrees (p. 241. 13) with the ancients (e.g. *Hor. Sat.* I. 10. 33) that dreams near dawn are truest.

καλὸν εἶναι τὴν ἐξέτασιν. Road εἰ δὲ γένοιτο . . . The idea of an old man symbolising Fortune is common in Aeschines.

A. D. N.

Hermetica; the ancient Greek and Latin writings, which contain religious or philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, edited with English translation and notes by WALTER SCOTT. Volume III: Notes on the Latin Asclepius and the Hermetic Excerpts of Stobaeus. Pp. 632. Oxford: University Press, 1926. 25s.

It was not given to Scott to see the completion of his large edition, but Professor Ferguson (now of Aberdeen) ὀφθαλμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἑταίρου τῆς ἀγάπης. The commentary here given is of greater value than the text in Volume I: if it does not convince us of the reasonableness of many of the conjectures (e.g. the deletion in Exc. 24, § 12, ascribed to 'a nasty-minded reader,' p. 574), which it is intended to justify, it certainly contains a large quantity of material which should be of service to students of this literature. Naturally there is not a little to be added: on p. 81 a reference might well be given to Schröder's excellent *Plotinus Abhandlung Πόδας τὰ σωτά* (Bern: Leipzig, 1916), on p. 185 to recent studies of Aion (conveniently summarised by C. Clemen, *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3, i, 179 f.), on p. 363 to A. E. Housman's discussion of δέκαροι in his introduction to Manilius IV (though it must be said that Scott's collection of facts is in itself useful), on p. 370 to *Expositio totius mundi*, § 34 and § 62. But Scott's notes are of real service (cf., for instance, that on views of marriage, p. 138 ff.), and it should be admitted in justice to an editor that the *Asclepius* is among the most difficult remains of antiquity. The Oxford Press has executed a difficult piece of printing with its usual excellence: p. 377 *Erdbeschreibung* for *Erdbeschreibung* is to be corrected, but probably not much else.

It may be of use to give a cross-reference to the bibliography of some recent literature relating to the *Hermetica* which will appear in § 2 of the bibliography of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for 1927.

A. D. N.

Totentheil und Seeligerat im griechischen Recht. By DR. EBERHARD FRIEDRICH BRÜCK. (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*; neuntes Heft.) Pp. xxiii + 374. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1926. 22 marks.

To set juristic conceptions in their historical and religious background is a line of investigation very well worth pursuing, and one which has been pursued with profit by modern scholars. Among them Dr. Brück takes a place of honour with this admirable monograph. *Totentheil* is the individual's right to possess after death part of his personal property; the investigation of this involves on the one hand a study of objects buried with the dead from Minoan times onwards in Greece, on the other an inquiry into the origin of the idea of personal property as opposed to family property. In the first instance this seems to originate in acquisitions in war or piracy. An admirable survey is given of the use and decline of the *Totentheil*; some reference might perhaps be made to survivals of the *Totentheil* in the second sense indicated by Dr. Brück, that of placating the dead man as an object of fear, such as we perhaps see in the presents made to the *φάρμακός* (V. Gebhard, *Die Pharmakoi in Ionten und die Syntaktoi in Athen*, Diss. München, 1926, pp. 82-9), and in the presents made to Laelius before his ritual pretence of death in Apul. Met. xi. 23 (E. Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, iv, 52); here the luck of giving as in the Roman *strenua* (L. Deubner, *Glossa*, li, 39) is possibly a contributory cause.

Seeligerat is the giving of part of one's estate to make a pious foundation. In Greece this is not found before the end of the fourth century B.C.

Dr. Brück argues cogently that, as at the time when this custom begins that of *Totentheil* had dwindled almost to extinction, it cannot be regarded as a continuation of the other, but is rather a development of the custom of toulance of the dead, then declining owing to the weakening of family ties. On the growth of individualism there are some excellent

pages here (206 ff.). It may well be that in the development of *θίασος* to perform tendence another idea, distinct from religious belief, has importance; it is that the only real immortality man can enjoy is that he may have in the memory of others. *ἀθάνατος γὰρ εἶναι δοξάζει* says a pious founder at Gythium (Bruck, 230₃). This idea was widespread (cf. A. Elter, *Donaresse paterna*, Progr. Bonn, 1907, II; 49, 56 ff.). To the Hellenistic and later individualist, who even in his philosophy could not but think of the glory of virtue as well as of virtue itself (cf. Sallustiana, *Περὶ θείας* xxi, αἰτή γε ἡ ἀρετή καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡδονή *re* καὶ δοξάζει), it might seem intolerable that his name should perish if he could preserve it; one may compare the story in Lucian, *Quomodo historia sit conser.* 62, of the architect who immortalised his name by an inscription under the perishable stucco of the Pharos at Alexandria. Dr. Bruck quotes some instances in which the motive of securing undying memory is directly stated (p. 228₁, 230₁); it may well be of much wider application, and be without the idea he suggests of *Seelenpflege*.¹

His treatment of the passing of the ancient *Seelenpflicht* into Christianity and of its spiritualisation is very interesting. Some parts of the book are open to question (cf., for instance, K. Latte, *Gnomon*, 1927, 41-3), but as a whole it is a very fine piece of work.

A. D. N.

Commentationes philologicae in honorem professoris emeriti I. A. Heikel. Ediderunt discipuli. Pp. vii + 163. Helsingforsiae, 1926. In Kommission bei der Akademischen Buchhandlung, Helsingfors. 50 Finnish marks.

This volume is of varied character. E. Ahlman, *Zur Definition des Satzes*, is a study in psychological grammar. Y. M. Riese explains the references to the glory of history-writing as mentioned by Polybius and Sallust in the light of the rhetorical theory of *εὐλογία*, as intended to arouse the reader's interest, suggests Isocr. *Nicoel.* 36 f. as the source of a number of phrases relating to the conferring of immortality by history, points to Ephorus as introducing in a poem the comparison of history with other forms of literature, and explains the dropping of the *κόρος* of history's practical utility as due to political circumstances. E. Flink gives notes on the inscription of the *columna rostrata*, Cic. *Orat.* 80, Catull. 2, 7, Horace, *Carmin.* I. 20, 10. E. G. Gulin, *Die Religion Epiktets und die Stoa*, agrees with Bultmann in finding in Epictetus a conflict between philosophic pantheism and personal belief both elsewhere and in the theory of conduct. He studies the expression of gratitude to God, as, for instance, in iii. 5, 10, where man leaves life thankfully as if it were a *παύσις* (for the thought cf. *Josua. Eg. Arch.* xi. 131.), and the vacillation between unbelief and belief in personal immortality in Epictetus. H. Gunnarsson, *Cognomen und Berufs.*, a paper which is a model of method, is concerned with occupational cognomina. R. Gyllenberg, *Zur Etymologie von Hbr.* 5, 11-6, 12, interprets a difficult passage. M. Hammarström discusses the kinship of the alphabet of Phrygia and that of the pre-Greek stele on Lemnos with the Etruscan alphabet. The Lemnian alphabet may, he argues, have come from Attica. K. Jaukkola, *De literarum praepositionibus Koumi*, A. Matin, *Ein mittelalterliches Gedicht auf die hl. Birgitta (she is amica dei specialis)*, A. H. Salomaa, *Petrarchiana I*, J. Sundwall, *Über Menschenmotive auf italienischen Hüttenurnen und Villanovaküssen*, L. O. Th. Tudeer, *Some Maps attached to Ptolemy's Geography*, can only be mentioned here. Th. Rein, *De Danae Euripidea*, is an interesting essay in reconstruction from Lucian and other sources. Some of the phrases which he recovers seem to come from a prologue of the usual narrative Euripidean type: but if one is inclined to make such conjectures it is always salutary to turn to the third volume of Nauck's Teubner *Euripides*, p. vi ff., and see what we should make of the *Elektra*, the *Herakleides*, and the *Hercules Furor* if we had only fragments in citations.

The reviewer may be allowed to join with the contributors in good wishes to the scholar they have honoured with this interesting volume, which gives clear evidence of the healthy state of scholarship in Finland.

A. D. N.

¹ K. Latte, *Gnomon*, 1927, 41, notes the importance of this idea in ordinary *ἀνδράγατα*.

Oedipus Rex, Muziek van P. A. VAN WESTERHEENE. Pp. 21. Dirk Kallé Muziek-gravure. 's Gravenhage.

The music was composed for a performance by past and present pupils of the Grammar School at Arnhem. The setting is for male voices in unison, with an instrumental accompaniment (not further specified), of which the piano-score is here printed. From the alternation of clefs, we gather that the tenors and basses sing in turn at certain points. In the lyrical dialogues Oedipus is a tenor and the leader of chorus a bass. (On p. 18 Oedipus seems to speak through the music.) The composer has kept reasonably close to the classical metres: the anapaestic and choriambic rhythms, for instance, being boldly marked. His melodies are rather chromatic and avoid all plainsong reminiscences and florid passages. The style is sufficiently vigorous; and the work, though by no means easy, should be within the power of a good amateur choir.

H. J. W. T.

Sardis. Vol. X. Terra-cottas. Part I. Architectural Terra-cottas. By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR. Pp. xii + 48, with 15 coloured plates and 22 black and white illustrations. Cambridge: University Press, 1926.

The present part of the publications of the American Society for the excavation of Sardis deals with the somewhat scanty but interesting fragments of architectural terracottas found on the site.

To a considerable extent the publication is based on water-colour records, here elaborately reproduced in facsimile, which were made by Mrs. Shear. The original fragments, many of them believed to be relics of buildings destroyed at the time of the Ionian revolt, were excavated in 1922, but broken or dispersed once more, in a subsequent phase of the secular struggle between East and West.

The architectural terracottas consist of roof-tiles, acroterial fragments, and parts of decorative simas, derived from buildings on a small terrace opposite the temple of Artemis. The dates assigned are 600-550 B.C.

The sima tiles are divided by the author into three groups. The first group includes relief panels of Theseus and the Minotaur, alternating with the winged Artemis with lions. Of the latter only a small part is preserved here, but the group can be completed from a tile in the Louvre.

The second group, distinguished by a more free use of red and geometric ornament, contains a fine fragment with confronted lions (one only survives) standing over lotus volutes; also decorative subjects, such as eight rayed stars and early forms of egg and dart.

The third group, of more advanced technique, consists of sima tiles with chariot friezes in coloured relief, together with bold zigzag polychrome decoration. There is also a sima that probably surmounted a pediment, with palmette and volute schemes of ornament.

The book is finely printed and illustrated, but an eccentric numeration of the plates, by which Roman-numbered coloured plates and Arabic-numbered black and white plates are intermingled, is a new departure to be deprecated.

A. H. S.

Baalbek. (1) Zweiter Band, von D. KRENCHEL, TH. VON LÜPKE, and H. WINKELMANN. Pp. xiv + 151; 69 plates and 201 cuts in the text; (2) Dritter Band, von H. KÖHL, D. KRENCHEL, O. REUTHER, F. SARRÉ, M. SOBERNHEIM. Pp. x + 145; 24 plates and 213 cuts in the text. Edited by TH. WIEGAND. Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1923 and 1925.

These two sumptuous volumes conclude, presumably, the publication of the results of the researches which, under Professor Heberdey's superior direction, were carried out before the War in the "Kala'a," the town and the neighbourhood of Baalbek. The first of the two volumes (it appeared three years ago) dealt with the smaller of the two main temples on

the Kala's—that of Bacchus, so complete in frame and so terribly mutilated in detail—and with the little Round Temple below, adding a general excursus, from the pen of Dr. Winnefeld, on the Heliopolitan Cults, which collects different cult representations existing in various collections and museums. Abdul Hamid's unfortunate addition to the decoration of the north wall of the cella of the Bacchus Temple is perpetuated, we note, on Plate XXIX. Next, the Christian accretions and adaptations on the Kala's are very thoroughly recorded and examined; and finally, Dr. Winnefeld once more adds a historical résumé, from the earliest times to the Arab invasion.

At this last date, the second of the two volumes, i.e. the third of the complete series, takes up the record. Dr. Sobernheim deals with the subsequent history of Baalbek down to the close of the Middle Ages, and with the Islamic inscriptions of the place; Doctors Kohl and Renthert with the Arabic buildings on and off the Kala's; and Dr. Sarre with such Islamic pottery, weapons, etc., as came to light during the whole campaign of excavation. The glazed ware fragments occasion very admirable plates (XXII. and XXIV.) of coloured reproductions.

Altogether, this publication of Baalbek is a model of what (given large funds) the printed and pictorial records of great sites ought to be; and one must congratulate the members of the original expedition and the editor and authors on having given to the world these three fine volumes notwithstanding the War and all that it has since entailed. The clearance of the Kala's was a work which had long demanded attention; but its magnitude and the small promise of other than architectural results were effective deterrents unless public funds were made available for the purpose. A site so continuously occupied as Baalbek has been since antiquity, and boasting so turbulent a mediæval history, could not reasonably be expected to yield much in the way of museum objects or even inscriptions. Therefore one can only be thankful that a scientific organisation not dependent for its means on the support of museums or private societies or individuals was found to undertake the necessary excavation work and to publish the results in so full and adequate a form.

D. G. H.

A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by H. G. LIDDELL and ROBERT SCOTT. A New Edition, revised and augmented by HENRY STUART JONES with the assistance of RODERICK MCKENZIE and with the co-operation of many scholars. 4to. Part I:—*Α-Αρσβαῖνα*. Pp. xli and 192. 10s. Part II:—*Αρσβαλλω-Δαλίζω*. Pp. 208. 10s. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925, 1926.

Das Bewunderungswürdigste an diesem Wörterbuch ist der Plan und die Organisation. Es handelte sich darum, sowohl von dem Dilettantismus fernzubleiben, der durch unsystematische Stoffsammlungen der ernsten Forschung mehr Hindernisse als Förderung schafft, wie von dem Vollständigkeitsmanismus, der die Mitarbeiter erschöpft und die meisten Benützer langweilt (nicht zu reden von den Käufern). Gewiss wäre es schöner gewesen, wenn sich zwanzig Männer vom Kaliber Wilhelm Croemerts gefunden hätten, dem es gelungen ist, die erste Hälfte von A im wesentlichen abschliessend zu erledigen. Aber wer es einmal versucht hat, eine Wortgruppe in Croemerts vorbildlicher Weise zu behandeln (und das sollte jeder Philologe einmal versuchen), der wird bald einsehen, dass eine Verbindung von philologischer Universalität, von Arbeitskraft und von Entsagung in solchem Ausmaße unter der heutigen Philologengeneration vereinzelt bleiben mußte. Die glückliche Lösung des englischen Werkes liegt in der Begrenzung der Aufgabe und in der Verteilung der Lasten. Für jede Form und Bedeutung soll mindestens ein charakteristischer Beleg gegeben werden, möglichst der älteste; dazu dient die Mitwirkung zahlreicher Spezialisten (deren Namen die Vorrede aufzählt). Vollständigkeit der Belege bei gleicher Bedeutung wird also nicht erstrebt, Schlüsse *ex silentio* in dieser Hinsicht sind unzulässig, von Häufigkeit und Verbreitung wird selten gesprochen, *ὡς αὖτε λεγόμενα* erscheinen im allgemeinen nicht als solche; dafür könnte ja auch keiner der Beteiligten die Verantwortung übernehmen. Andererseits aber konnte so die mechanische Arbeit der Helfer und Redaktoren auf das für ein schnelles Fortschreiten des Werkes notwendige

Minimum reduziert werden. Und wenn im allgemeinen erreicht ist, dass keine wichtige Form und Bedeutung fehlt, und dass die angegebenen Stellen richtig gedeutet und auch die ältesten sind, so ist etwas Unschätzbares erreicht.

Und tatsächlich kann man wohl Kleinigkeiten ansetzen, aber nicht verkennen, dass diese Wörterbuch innerhalb des gewählten Rahmens von der Vollkommenheit nicht weit entfernt ist. Die Vollständigkeit der herangezogenen Literatur (in der selbst unedierter Klassikerpapyri nicht fehlen), die Zuverlässigkeit der auf den neuesten kritischen Ausgaben beruhenden Zitate, die Sachkunde der mitarbeitenden Spezialisten, die Knappheit und Übersichtlichkeit der Darstellung, die Sauberkeit des Druckes, alles ist erstaunlich. Auch den Preis wird der nicht schelten, der erwägt, dass hier auf vierhundert Quartseiten etwa so viel geboten wird, wie in drei Folianten des Dindorfischen Thesaurus. Dass manches ohne Schaden hätte wegleiben, manches durch die Zufälligkeiten der alphabetischen Reihenfolge Zerrissene ineinandergearbeitet werden können, dass die Streichung wertvoller Hinweise auf christliche Literatur eine überflüssige Pedanterie bedeutet, dies und manches Ähnliche (ich mag hier nicht wiederholen was ich im *Gnomon*, 1925, S. 169 ausgeführt habe) ist von verhältnismässig geringer Bedeutung, und nachdem nun schon ein Viertel des Werkes gedruckt ist, hätte eine Änderung der Anlage wohl auch dann ihren Nachteil, wenn sie an sich Verbesserung bedeutete.

Noch unwesentlicher im Verhältnis zur Gesamtleistung sind die Addenda und Corrigenda, die bis jetzt zu den ersten beiden Lieferungen bekannt gegeben wurden und die ich mir auf Grund eigener Lektüre vermerkt habe. Aber angesichts des ungeheuren und stets wachsenden Stoffes wird die absolute Zahl solcher Vermerke bis zum Abschluss des Werkes so angeschwollen sein, dass sie zu einer bedeutsamen Ergänzung verhelfen können. Da die Herausgeber auf Nachträge so grossen Wert legen, dass sie sogar jeder Lieferung eine Liste davon beilegen (die offenbar in der Gesamtausgabe in dieser Form nicht erscheinen soll), könnten sie vielleicht durch den Hinweis auf eine für die Schlusslieferung geplante Zusammenstellung schon jetzt alle Benutzer zur Sammlung zwingen; sie könnten vielleicht auch angeben, welche Art von Nachträgen sie nicht würden verwerten können.

Hier eine Auslese dessen, was ich mir an den Rand der 2. Lieferung geschrieben habe (über die 1. cf. *Gnomon*, I. c.); hinzufügen möchte ich, dass *δριούλος*, in der 8. Auflage aus dem Nomianer Christodoros zitiert, nun ganz fehlt, weil Christodoros Christ war. Aber dann war *Νομμος* zu nennen, *Diogenes*, II. 373).

ἀποδοῦναι: Herod. Att. (1) *ἐπὶ πωλείας* 18. Die Rede fehlt im Literaturverzeichnis, wird aber auch s. v. *πώλειος πωλείας* und *πώλ. ζήτησις* zu erwähnen sein.

πρωτόβιβλος: Praxenastanon erst hellenistisch bezeugt. E. Gr. 128 steht *πρίχον*, nicht *κόμης*.

ἀποθησαυρίζω: Anon. damblich. 7. 8.

ἀπώλειος: Hp. aer. 16 (Comp.).

ἀπορία Suid.: ebenda *καταρῶδες γυναικὸς διὰ δαπανήρια*, alles *ὑπὸ ἀργύρου* (mit Absicht weggelassen?).

ἀπώτος: Call. *Idyl.* 205 (Adv.).

ἀργαίον: cf. *ἐπαργαίον*; ebenso könnte zu *ἀποστρέψαι* und *ῥυσσασθαι*, zu *ἀποκλῆθαι*, zu *ἀπώλῃ* auf *ἀπώλλω*, zu *βορραὶ* auf *βυβρίσκειν* verwiesen werden.

ἀποστρέψαι: die beiden Eupolisstellen sind identisch.

ἀπορία Heub.: ebenda *βιωτός*.

ἀρχημύτατος: 'ohne Hintergedanken', D.H. *RA*, 9. 13

ἀτιμάει *ἡτμήσεν* II. 1. 12 gehört zu *ἀτιμάζω*, gemeint war *ἡτμήσκει*.

ἀπρίχον Hes. *Fr.* 96, 91: 'Löwin' (W. Morol, *Hermes*, 1926).

αἰτός IV. 3: *τοῦτ' αἰτός* Phil. 2. 393 c.

ἀφῆ A. Pr. 850 (Konjekturen *γόνιμ' ἀφῆ*): zu streben; das Werk ist rein prosaisch.

ἀφλαστὸν Asclep. Tragil. 31 J.: zu streichen; cf. lat. *aphlastria* (schon Ennius).

ἀφύετος: Gemme bei Plinius *N.H.* 37, 148; ebenda *βάρπη, βοστρυχόν, βορραία, βερύπην*.

ἀφύος Call. *Fr.* 115: nicht 'dub.', sondern sicher von R. Pfeiffer hergestellt.

βαλλίζω: römische Salutaria bei Ath. 362 a (was bezwecken bei Athenaios die Buchnummern?), auch mittelgriech. = tanzen, vgl. roman. *ballare*.

βασιλεύς VII. Pl. *N.* 1. 39: gehört zu *βασιλεύω*.

βασιλεύω Pass. Plu. *Salt*. 12. 1: *submit to the king* entfernt sich zu weit vom Üblichen; dazu der Hiatus. Hier war ein Warnungszeichen am Plate (*βασιλλίζω* emendiert K. Latte 1927, einleuchtend).

βασιλεύων Men. *Kpōl*. 107: paratragodisch. 'Pass. first in Plb.': aber Arist. *Rh.* 1413 b 12 war ja gerade zitiert.

βλαυεσπότης *βέτροχος* Suid. (cf. *δαυεσπότης*, *πολύπότης*).

βολή = *ῥήσις* nicht Procop. *Goth.* 4. 22 (die Paragraphenzahl 29 war hinzuzufügen), sondern Grammatiker bei Procop.

γαίρης Steph. B. s.v. γῆ: ebenda *γαῖρᾶς*.

γαυροπυγής Tim. *Pers.* 110; ebenda 111 *δαυροπυγής*, beides *ἀπὸς λεγόμενα*.

Δορίδας Herod. (d.h. nicht Herodotos, sondern Herodas, aber schon um der Abkürzung willen sollte man Herondas beibehalten) 7. 122.

δαφνηφόρος Lys. 6 heisst nicht 'inspired.'

δέλτα Ar. *Lys.* 151 steht nicht 'adverbially.'

δεξιόμα: lies *δεξιμα* (Zeretti *P. Ross. Georg.* I. 62).

δεσπότης: fehlt bei Hom. schwerlich 'for metrical reasons,' da 4 *Kasua*, vor allem der Vocativ, sich dem Metrum fügen (vgl. *ἀγρότης*, *λαρότης*, *κρηγόρης*, etc.). Die ältesten Belege, Sappho, Hybris (dieser fehlt im Literaturverzeichnis), Tyrtaos sind übersehen.

δέχμας: der älteste Beleg für *δέχθαι*, Il. 1. 23 ist irrtümlich gestrichen.

δέλος Od. 20. 33, 'etc.' ist missverständlich, da das Wort bei Homer sonst fehlt (*ἰδὼλος* noch Il. 6. 2, *ἰδῆλος* Hes., vgl. *εἰδὼλος*).

δῆρις A. *Suppl.* 412 nicht 'lyr.'

δέ metz. gr. nicht 'freq. in Hom.'

διαβύσσω B. *Fr.* 10. 4 falsche Konjekture für *αἰβύσσω*.

δίατρα: es fehlen die Belege aus Pindar, die ältesten. Die Stelle D. 20. 58 ist misdeutet, Hyp. *Euz.* 31 wahrscheinlich auch.

PAUL MASE.

Berlin.

Michel Paléologue restaurateur de l'Empire Byzantin (1261-1282). By CONRAD CHAPMAN. Pp. 294. Paris: E. Figuière, 1926. Fr. 25.

Mr. Chapman has done for Michael VIII Palaiologos what Pappadopoulos did for Theodore II Laskaris nineteen years ago—he has written a learned French monograph on one of the most interesting Greek Emperors of the thirteenth century. Michael VIII fares better in his hands than in those of most historians, Greek or foreign; indeed it is difficult to make of this cruel intriguer a sympathetic figure. But he will always have his niche in Greek history as the Nicene Emperor who was associated with the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins. His biographer has consulted a large number of original and secondary authorities, duly set out in the extensive bibliography, and has rendered a service to students by printing in a French translation large extracts from the Emperor's autobiography, published in Greek with a Russian version by Troitzki in 1885—a book now rare. The present volume also contains a genealogical table, a portrait, the emblem of the Palaiologoi, two coins, and a map of the East in 1255. There is, however, no mention of the portrait of the Emperor, which the reviewer has seen at Viterbo, with which the Palaiologoi had a legendary connexion. The book contains numerous misprints, and 'Bodēna' should be 'Vodená,' the well-known Macedonian town long known by its Slav name ('waters') from its waterfall, but since 1912 rechristened 'Edessa.' Pappadopoulos should be cited in the last edition.

W. M.

Fouilles du Corps d'Occupation Français de Constantinople: 1. Le Tumulus dit de Protésilas, Par R. DEMANGE. Pp. 78 (quarto). Paris: E. de Boccard, 1926.

The *tumulus* excavated in 1921 and 1923, consists of the accumulated debris of successive prehistoric villages forming a deposit 11-50 metres deep. Four settlements were dis-

tinguished. In the latest stratum beginning at a depth of 2-50 m. the 'ἀστὺς ἀμφικύκλιον' (one wheel-turned, the sole wheel-made vase in the mound) appeared for the first time. The fourth settlement is therefore equated with Troy II. 2. But even the first village yielded three-footed jugs and reddish wares, and in the second wedge-shaped, banded axe-heads similar to those found in Thessaly in period III. were discovered. If, as the excavators assume, the first two villages were parallel to the two structural phases of Troy I, it will be necessary to revise current views as to the latter site. In particular the supposition that black ware enjoyed an 'unquestioned supremacy' in Troy I must be abandoned; an examination of Schmidt's catalogue will show the insecurity of its foundation.

V. G. U.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Denmark, Fasc. II. By CHE. BLINKENBERG and K. FRIS JOHANNSEN.

The second volume of the Danish Corpus Vasorum continues the publication of the vases in the National Museum at Copenhagen, and is concerned entirely with Mycenaean and Hellenic styles, and with the derivations of the latter. It is in every way one of the most satisfactory that has appeared, containing an excellent descriptive text by Professors Blinkenberg and Johannsen, and illustrations which are unusually satisfactory. One may perhaps be allowed to regret that the text is almost exclusively descriptive and contains but little in the way of classification, save under the broadest headings, or of citation of parallels, but the plan which the authors have adopted is that which is followed in all previous volumes of this series and may therefore at least be defended as traditional. As regards the photography, it is a pity that in one or two cases (Pls. LXXXIV, 3 and LXXXIX, 2) vases have been photographed wearing lids which do not belong to them, though in each case this is duly notified in the text.

The first fifteen plates are occupied with Mycenaean vases, mostly from Rhodes; then follow a few Protogeometric and a rich series of Geometric and Orientalising vases from the mainland and from Eastern Greece; the last section is occupied with Italian imitations of the Protocorinthian and Corinthian styles. Amongst the Rhodian Geometric vases is an interesting tomb-group containing more than one vase showing, as the authors remark, undoubted connexion with Cyprus. The Attic Geometric series is especially fine, with excellent specimens of the latest and most complicated phase of the Dipylon style. There are good vases, too, where one least expects them, among the Boeotian Geometric group; the 'stamnos' with facing 'crowns' if it is not a Cycladic vase proper, has the peculiar reserve and precision which one associates with some of the best island work; the amphora on Pl. LXVIII, No. 1, is also noteworthy.

A few criticisms, mostly affecting points of detail, must be made. The provenance of the late Rhodian ones (Pl. LXXX, 1) might have been given: in *Atk. Mitt.* 1911, p. 147, it is stated to have been found in the neighbourhood of Camirus, and if this is incorrect it should have been contradicted. It might also have been said that the very suspicious-looking head-vase from the van Branteghem Collection (Pl. LXXXI, 3) is referred to by Buschor in *Münch. Jahrb.* 1919 (p. 2, note 1) as of doubtful authenticity. The vase in the form of a doe with a head which acts as a stopper is most probably Italo-Corinthian and not Corinthian proper. This distinction between Corinthian and Italian imitations of the Corinthian style is carefully drawn—which is satisfactory in view of the frequent confusion of these groups. In one case only I must disagree; the olpe, Pl. LXXXIII, 7, is certainly of Italian manufacture. The tripod vase from Thebes, Pl. LXXXV, 3, is surely Boeotian and not Corinthian; the description of the clay as 'brun clair' is in accord with this view, and the shape is common in Boeotia, unknown at Corinth. One of the lions on the very fine early Corinthian alabastron, Pl. LXXXVI, 3, is reproduced recognisably, if not ideally, on the cover; this might have been mentioned in the text, as the cover drawing is a useful supplement to the inadequate photograph on the plate.

The kotyle, Pl. XCI, 7, is not Corinthian but belongs to a group of red-clay vases (cups, kotylai, craters, and tripod vases) which are often wrongly attributed to Corinthian workshops. The vases of this group are widely distributed from Potidaea (Vienna, Hof-

musentan 226), Naukratis (fragments in Cairo and in Oxford), to Sicily and Italy, no doubt through the agency of Corinthian trade—for there are examples in Athens from Corinth—but technique and various details give definite evidence of connexion with Boeotia or Attica.

It is surprising to find the late Corinthian category extended to include several vases which, with all due respect to the authors, we must say are definitely Attic. The confusion between late Corinthian and Attic depends in a large measure on the supposition, baseless so far as I am aware, that there exist Corinthian vases made of clay which is red through and through. Furtwängler's error in describing the clay of the Amphiaraios vase as red is no doubt responsible for the perpetuation of this belief (v. Rumpf in *Gnomon*, 1925, 326). Not merely on this ground should we exclude Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 of Pl. XCII.; in no case is the style Corinthian; in the case of the cups, Nos. 4, 5, it is typically Attic. That No. 4 should come from Corinth is not in itself a point of importance; Corinth imported sixth-century Ionian and Attic vases, if sparingly, and there are fine examples of the work of one of the best red-figure painters in the small Museum at Corinth. The red slip oenochos, Pl. XCII. 3, on the other hand, is a typical example of the late Corinthian style.

H. G. G. P.

Handbuch der Literatur-Wissenschaft. Edited by Professor DR. OSEAR WALZEL. Wildpark-Potsdam: Akad. Verlagsges. Athenaion. Rm. 2, 20.

A series dealing with the literatures of the world, appearing in instalments and intended for a popular audience, but written by competent specialists and demanding a high standard of intelligence on the part of its readers. The editor, Professor Walzel, has contributed a very readable section on 'Gehalt und Gestalt im Kunstwerk des Dichters,' on which one would willingly linger were it not that detailed criticism of such a theme is somewhat misplaced in the pages of this *Journal*. More to our present purpose is the account of Greek literature written by Professor E. Bethe of Leipzig, which occupies fascicules 30, 29, 41, 46, 47, 50, 57 and 61, and evinces sound scholarship and literary feeling. A good point is the accompaniment of the literary story by illustrations selected with care from the appropriate archaeological material of the period; to give one instance, the story of the poetry of early Sparta is abundantly enlivened by scenes from Cyrensis cups and by material from the excavations of the British School. Similarly, for the Ionic School the excavations at Ephesus and vase-paintings from Clazomenae and Rhodes are freely drawn upon. Some very meritorious productions of this class have lately been published in this country; but this series is not inferior in the quality of its literary contents and is probably superior in the relevancy of its illustrative matter.

1. **The Dawn of European Civilisation.** By V. GORDON CHILDE. Pp. 328, 148 text-illustrations, 4 maps.
 2. **The Aryans. A Study of Indo-European Origins.** By V. GORDON CHILDE. Pp. 221, 8 plates, 28 text-illustrations.
- (The History of Civilisation.) London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tröhner & Co.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, 1926.

These two books are complementary; or, rather, the second is a sequel to the first, and can hardly be read usefully without constant reference to that volume. *The Dawn of European Civilisation* is a summary account, sufficiently illustrated, of all the known material remains of prehistoric Europe, and of most of the theories that have been formed upon them. The work with which it naturally compares, and to which its author will doubtless acknowledge a large debt, is Hoernes' *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*. But Mr. Childe goes far beyond Hoernes, who was not concerned with documents that have no artistic value, and who lacked real knowledge of some of the most important

departments of his survey. Mr. Childe makes much of the anthropological evidence, the forms of settlements, houses and graves, and gives new significance to common artefacts. He rightly insists upon the importance of pot-shapes, which have often been unduly subordinated to the decoration, and in the Aegean area have sometimes been very seriously neglected. Mr. Childe is the first competent scholar to attempt a thorough synthesis of the Aegean elements, through which alone it is possible to approach an absolute chronology, with those of the other regions of Europe. Indeed it is hard to say now whether he is more at home in prehistoric Greece or in Hungary, but it is certain that he is one of the first authorities in both these vital centres. His unique knowledge of the facts is joined to an almost unique tolerance of other people's ideas, a tolerance that is sometimes wearisome to the reader, when theory after theory is laboriously examined in order to be thrown out. But it is not the least valuable feature of both books. A natural disadvantage of the subject is that the scarcity of evidence in many districts encourages the local antiquary to put speculation in the place of fact. Mr. Childe himself does not always refuse the invitation, but he has a book to write; and it is safe to say that he never indulges in theory which conflicts with fact. It may need the eye of faith or hope or clarity to see Minoan inspiration in chalcolithic Sardinia, but the ordinary eye can see no other influence. What Mr. Childe has to say is original, reasonable and well-informed; for the unsatisfactory patches in his story one must blame the subject, not the author. Both books are disfigured by some curious mispellings (Britanny, Mediterranean, apsoidal, frescoe, sagelles, beign for fain, and other oddities) which ought to be corrected in future editions. They show how the author has been respected by his proof reader, his printers' reader, and even by his printer; but the reviewer's respect must be of a different kind.

The Aryans is a more ambitious and still more courageous essay, which will be invaluable to other workers in many fields. It is marked by the same qualities of wide learning and sound logic, but the author now produces the new and unexpected weapon of comparative philology, and wields it adroitly enough. We should perhaps be more convinced by his performance if he would deal some long-wanted strokes among his fellow-players. Attarassiyas of Abhiyava and Alakāsmas of Uluva ought to have their honesty established before they are put in evidence. But the author's tolerance doubtless does more good than harm, and indeed it is a necessary instrument of any useful work upon this subject in its present complicated state. The established facts about the Aryans are very few; theories, prejudices and dogmas are innumerable. Mr. Childe's method is direct and satisfying. After a preliminary statement of the linguistic relations, he identifies Aryans in history in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Syria, South Russia, India, Persia and the Mediterranean lands. For Greece and Italy, which particularly concern the readers of this *Journal*, an unbiased person is likely to dispute his archaeological identification of the Homeric Achaeans as the bearers of the mixed transitional culture which is known as Late Mycenaean B, with a probable ancestry in the Middle Helladic 'Minyans,' and of the *terramare* folk of the Italian Bronze Age as the forebears of the Romans. The author then proceeds to reconstruct the culture and environment of an original Aryan group from common elements of the various languages and literatures, and applies this image as a test to the many regions and races of Asia and Europe that dispute the honour of the Aryan cradle. Very little of the old stock manages to pass the scrutiny. First principles are called in question, the significance of burial customs, language, and even of race is doubted; but simple anthropometry is allowed to hold a place that it hardly deserves, and amid so much excellent scepticism it is strange to read that 'to paint your clay with a permanent indelible colour, which will not be destroyed but fixed by firing, was a technique the secrets of which are not likely to have been twice discovered.' The main conclusion is that 'the great majority of the Aryan nations of historical times can be shown to be descended from the Nordic battle-axe folk of the Stone Age. They can be traced back with more or less certainty to one of two centres—South Russia or Scandinavia.' Mr. Childe forces disappointment and bewilderment in the reader's mind; but his result is certainly more definite than the difficulty of his material and the stringency of his method would lead us to expect, and the bewilderment will probably be lessened by more diligent reading of the two books. If he had reached no conclusion at all, his work would have been well worth doing, and equally well done, for it has cleared away masses of old lumber,

and has put in order the new finds which were beginning to obscure the view, in mainland Greece particularly. Thessalians, 'Minyans,' Trojans, Achaeans, Proto-Dorians and Hellenes are now set in an intelligible context, which may become historical at any moment through a chance discovery. The books mark a period in prehistoric research, as in Mr. Childs's archaeological career: for him they are a beginning rather than an end. As first professor in the Abercromby Chair at Edinburgh he has a well-earned opportunity of working out final solutions to the many problems which he has learnedly and patiently investigated here.

E. J. F.

Inscriptions de Délos : Comptes des Hiéropes (Nos. 290-371). Par FÉLIX DURRBACH. Pp. 192. Paris: H. Champion, 1926.

The work before us is, practically if not avowedly, an instalment of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, though the language employed is French and not Latin. Volume XI of that great collection was allocated by the Berlin Academy to the inscriptions of Délos, which were to be edited by French scholars, and considerable progress had been made in its publication in the years immediately preceding the war. In 1912 M. Durrbach edited fascicule ii, containing the *tabulae archontum* and the *tabulae hieropoecorum* from 314 to 250 B.C., and this was followed in 1914 by fascicule iv, edited by M. P. Roussel, in which were comprised the decrees, catalogues, dedications and other inscriptions of the island dating from the period of Delian independence (314-166 B.C.). After the war such international co-operation was beset by seemingly unmountable difficulties, and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, anxious that the completion of the undertaking should not be indefinitely postponed, and aided by a generous subvention from the Duc de Loebat, determined to proceed as rapidly as possible with the publication of the remaining Delian texts. The firstfruits of this policy are M. Durrbach's useful *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*, already published, and in the present volume, which contains about half the material originally intended for *I.G.* XI. fasc. iii. In it we have eighty-six texts, of which sixty-nine were hitherto wholly, and two partially, unpublished. They are admirably printed in large, clear type and are arranged chronologically, covering the period from 246 to 202 or 201 B.C.; they are accompanied by *lemmata* of the type usual in the *I.G.* and by excellent commentaries dealing with questions of text, chronology, subject-matter and prosopography. Professor Durrbach, whose long and minute study of all the relevant texts gives him unrivalled qualifications as their editor, has acquitted himself in his exacting task with marked distinction, and though it is probable that some minor corrections and additions will be necessitated by further examination alike of the stones and of the published texts, yet this book will permanently remain the basis of all serious study of a group of documents which, despite its undeniable monotony, provides material of very great value alike to the lexicographer and to the student of Greek architecture, art, economics and religion.

Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurlichen Stils. By J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. xii + 612. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925.

Professor Beazley's *Vases in America* (1918), following upon his illuminating studies of the finest anonymous masters of the red-figured style, lifted this branch of Greek archaeology on to an entirely new plane. Museums began to rearrange their collections, and to place the new attributions on their labels. And serious students of the subject have been very busy ever since assimilating the new material. Meanwhile, as the present book shows, the pioneer has climbed still higher—into the clouds, some of his over-cautious followers seem to fear. It was obvious in his earlier book that Mr. Beazley had not said his final word, for it dealt primarily with vases in American collections. Dr. Hopkin's meritorious *Hand-book* came at an unfortunate moment. Based originally more on the signatures of potters than on those of painters, it was transformed in the making to include the newly identified anonymous artists. Moreover, it was planned as a compilation in which all attributions,

whatever their worth, had to be recorded uncritically. A new handbook, with an authoritative grouping rigorously according to style, was very much needed; and specialists cannot be too grateful to Mr. Beazley for undertaking this laborious task.

The book is made up almost entirely of lists. Some five thousand vases are cited, arranged chronologically in twenty-one chapters, and attributed to nearly one hundred and eighty different painters. Seventy-two of these may be described as new in the sense that they had not been previously christened and sponsored by the author. More of them belong to the classical period (50 'new' painters to 46 'old') than to the archaic period (22 'new'; 56 'old'). Nine cups are grouped with the Peithinos kylix in Berlin (p. 49). The 'Siren painter,' named after the London stamnos with Odysseus and the Sirens, has two other vases ascribed to him (p. 117). Several well-known vases 'with interesting representations of fine execution and simple classical style' are to be found in the group of fifteen skyphoi by the 'Penelope painter' (p. 386); six of these had already been connected together by Hauser. Some admirable works of the Periclean age are included in the lists in Chapter XIX. But, as was to be expected, many of the new 'artists,' especially those of the later period, are no better than third-rate. On the other hand, the works of the chief masters are greatly increased. The Berlin painter has now 148 vases to his credit; the Kleophrades painter 72; the Panaitios painter 61 (formerly 32); Onesimos 44 (formerly 26); the Brygos painter 35; Douris 133; Makron 162. The important 'Antiphon group' (the traditional Lysis-Lachos-Lykos group) has increased from 22 to 79. A few vases change places, and one or two lists show a decrease. Euphronios, for example, surrenders the Oxford Miltiades plate to the Kerberos painter, and loses the Berlin Sosias kylix as well as the kantharos, Athena B 20, which goes with it. One wonders why these two vases did not suffice to constitute a 'Sosias painter,' and why the lekythoi in Boston and Syracuse signed by the potter Gales could not have been inserted under a 'Gales painter.' But the number of important vases excluded from the book must be very small. Mr. Beazley has come near to proving the justice of his remark, that 'however obscure he may be, the artist cannot escape detection if only sufficiently delicate tests be applied.'

No one who remembers the state of our knowledge in this field twenty years ago, and who is familiar with Mr. Beazley's earlier researches, will be disposed to question, except in details, the matured judgments recorded here or the method by which they have attained. The reader will do well to keep an open mind even when he sees a vase signed by Epiktetos attributed to the Kleophrades painter (p. 71) and another with the signature of Douris given to the Triptolemos painter (pp. 151, 153). Fortunately such knotty problems are rare. In very many cases the attributions appear obvious as soon as they are pointed out, and in every case they serve to give the painting at least its approximate place in the great mass of extant red-figured vases. For those who are irresistibly attracted to the study of these vases, whether in reproductions or at first hand in the museums—from Madrid to Aberdeen, from Chicago to Constantinople—this book is an indispensable guide. The judiciously pruned bibliographies and the elaborate indices of museums and publications, which alone take up 125 pages, add greatly to its usefulness.

L. D. C.

Fibules grecques et orientales. By CHE. BLINKENBERG. (*Lundiana*, v.) Pp. 312. København: Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1926.

Aegean and classical archaeologists are often tempted to neglect the 'small finds' which possess little aesthetic interest, but none the less provide the principal clues to the relations of the Greek world to its barbarian hinterland, especially on the European side. The fibulae, described and classified so ably in the work before us, are the most important of all such clues and have been made the basis for the whole chronology of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in the rest of Europe. Professor Blinkenberg's book is the first attempt to present anything like a complete inventory of the types from which such chronologies must start and to give precise dates to the several variants. The author distinguishes four main chronological groups—Mycenaean, Sub-Mycenaean (*Assarlik*, *Vrokastro* chamber-

tomba, Salamis, etc.), Intermediate (? Proto-geometric: Theotoku, Vrokaastro bone-enclosures, etc.) and Geometric, the latter being divided into eight local groups. The spectacle brooch and imported Italian fibulae are treated separately.

Blinkenberg, like P. Reinecke of Munich, rejects the current theory of a continental European origin for the safety-pin and regards it as an Aegean invention. He suggests as the prototype the Late Minoan crooked pins that Evans has described as 'hairpins.' The author has not noticed two or three violin-bow fibulae from graves in Bohemia and Lower Austria which have been assigned to the 'Early Bronze Age,' and which might thus be older than the earliest Mycenaean specimens. But apart from these quite isolated finds, it must be admitted that the first Central European fibulae appear in a context that is definitely post-Mycenaean and that the simple violin-bow form is exceedingly rare north of the Alps and Balkans. Hence, despite all the well-known arguments against it, the theory of an invention in the Mycenaean world deserves more sympathetic consideration than it has hitherto received.

Given the violin-bow fibula in Greece, the local evolution of all the later Hellenic types is perfectly straightforward with the sole exception of the spectacle brooch. Blinkenberg would derive the latter from Central Europe; curiously enough the leading German authority, Bletz, considers this type to be of Greek origin.

The exhaustive and systematic catalogue of types here presented makes the work an indispensable handbook to excavators and museum officials who have to handle prehistoric and archaic material, and deserves particularly careful study by all interested in the Early Iron Age of Asia Minor.

V. G. C.

A History of the Ancient World. By M. ROSTOVITZHEFF. Volume I. *The Orient and Greece.* Translated from the Russian by J. D. DUFF. Pp. xxiii + 418, with 80 plates and 5 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

A serious criticism which must be made on this volume is that it is produced on too grandiose a scale to serve what is stated to be its object—that of a text-book for beginners in the study of Ancient History: it should have been about half the bulk and a quarter the cost, and it would have been quite possible to achieve this without sacrificing any substantial part of the illustrations.

Apart from this defect, the planning of the work is excellent: a reasonable proportion is observed in the treatment of the different sections of the history, and the relationships between the kingdoms of the East and the Greek states are viewed in suitable perspective. The weakest side of the book is in its geography: for instance, the statements that 'Aegina takes advantage of its position between Asia Minor and Greece to become a great exchange' (p. 201), and that 'the island of Aegina forms a bridge between the Dorian world of the Peloponnese and the Ionian world of Attica and the islands' (p. 213), surely misrepresent the position of Aegina: no one standing on the island would regard it as a bridge or a half-way house to anywhere. To say that 'Egypt was in constant danger, because the flat coast at the mouth of the Nile was at the mercy of any invader with a powerful fleet' (p. 356) is to ignore the lesson which has been taught repeatedly in the history of Egypt, that the country is naturally protected against invasion from the sea by the Delta. The view of the events leading up to the choice of Salamis as the spot for the naval battle taken on p. 258 is, it may be granted, the accepted one; but it is hard to see what position the Greek fleet could have taken up, if their object was to co-operate with the land forces in the defence of the Isthmus, so favourable as in the bay behind Salamis. And in minor details the descriptions are occasionally misleading: for instance, the surface of the Acropolis at Athens was never 'converted into a level terrace' (p. 283); it is a good deal nearer a whaleback.

In the account of the Hellenistic world, it would seem that Professor Rostovtzeff attaches too much importance to the commercial position of Egypt, which, except for a few years in the middle of the third century B.C., did not play much part in Levantine trade: certainly there is no evidence that Egyptian coinage was 'most prominent in

the market' (p. 389), as it is hardly ever found outside Egypt after 200 B.C., and the rapid deterioration of the silver would make it useless for foreign exchange.

For minor errors Professor Rostovtzeff is presumably not to be held responsible, such as 'Antigones' (p. 354) and 'Cayens' (p. 359). 'Ptolemy Lagus' (p. 355) may be due to the translator, whose English also occasionally gets involved, and whose choice of a word is not always happy, as when he says that the Asclepium 'enlivened' the slope of the Acropolis at Athens. The position of the statue of Athena Promachos in the restoration on Plate LXIX. does not agree with the statement in the text on p. 285. And the Clarendon Press has actually left a wrong-fount letter in the first line of p. 329.

But these defects are unimportant compared with the great merits of the book as a whole; and, subject to the complaint made in the first paragraph of this review, it can be commended to the student as a sound and readable survey of the history of the countries with which it deals.

J. G. M.

Griechische Literaturgeschichte. By JOHANNES GEFCKEN. Vol. I. Von den Anfängen bis auf die Sophistenzeit. Pp. xii + 328, with a supplementary volume of notes, pp. vii + 317. Heidelberg: Winter, 1929.

This volume is the first of three which are destined to form another comprehensive history of Greek literature from the earliest to Roman times. Each volume, like the first, is to appear in two sections, one containing the text and the other notes and references. The second volume will deal with the fourth century and the third (in two parts) with the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The first volume, which is all that has so far been published, is concerned with literary history from the earliest times to the end of the fifth century B.C., though certain personalities (e.g. Socrates), whose influence belongs to the fourth rather than to the fifth century, are left for fuller treatment in a later volume.

A detailed criticism of so wide a subject is impossible in a brief review, but something may be said about the form and scope of the book. While the continuity of the Greek genius is throughout kept in view, the various literary forms are marked off and discussed separately in accordance with periods. The main chronological division in the first volume is naturally between pre-Attic literature (Epic, Elegy, Iambic, Lyric, Philosophy and early prose) and the Attic period, where Tragedy, Comedy, Lyric and Elegy and the various kinds of prose literature are treated in succession. But even inside these larger groups chronological considerations exert a greater influence on the order than differences of literary form. So that Lyric, for instance, in the pre-Attic period is rather awkwardly divided; for the early choral Lyric poets are grouped with contemporary exponents of the personal Lyric, while Semonides, Pindar and Bacchylides are separated from them by the account of early Philosophy and History. Though there is much to be said in favour of writing a literary history primarily according to chronology, a certain element of compromise is on occasion desirable. The text volume contains brief outlines of the origins and development of the various literary forms together with interesting accounts of the works and significance of the different authors; while the companion volume of notes provides, in addition to copious references to ancient and modern writers, a full index and excellent bibliographies of the best literature bearing upon the points in question. A long excursus on ancient and modern Homeric criticism is the pattern of what is to be expected in the case of other highly controversial topics when they arise in subsequent volumes.

The matter of the first volume is on the whole excellent. Professor Geffcken, who confesses to a lifelong admiration for Hellas, has obviously put the whole weight of his learning and enthusiasm into his work; and if the results are not particularly new, he has at any rate given a straightforward account of the greatest part of one of the greatest literatures of the world. The book is well and carefully printed, though I have noted a few trivial misprints (e.g. Notes, p. 140^a, γῆρας for χοροί). There is something to be said both for and against making separate volumes of text and notes. While it is pleasant for one who merely wishes to read an account of the literature not to be impeded by immen-

able footnotes, it is certainly less convenient for one who wishes to investigate the evidence to have to be constantly turning from one volume to another.

The book would be unreservedly welcome except for one consideration. The *Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* is, it seems, to have much in common with the older *Handbuch* of Müller, and Professor Geffcken's history of Greek Literature in the former invites comparison with that of Christ-Schmid in the latter. The scope and extent of the two books is approximately the same; good, therefore, as the new one is, it is open to question whether there is room for it beside the revised Christ-Schmid. For although it is interesting to hear the personal views of so good a scholar as Professor Geffcken, and although his book, in that it is less akin to a text-book, is more attractive to read, nevertheless for practical purposes it adds little. The possessor of Christ-Schmid will not find himself handicapped by the lack of Geffcken.

R. M. R.



THE JOHNSON PAPYRUS. CYMOYTON.



THE JOHNSON PAPYRUS. ΦΛΟΜΜΟC



COTTON VITELLIUS C.III, fo. 40. ANGLO-SAXON WORK OF ABOUT 1050.

Scorpion and Snake fighting. The drawing of the scorpion is good, showing that the artist of the original from which this was copied, worked in the Mediterranean region. The plant is 'Solago Minor' which, it is thought, corresponds to the *Heliotropium-Europaeum* of botanists.



Fig. b.

Mugewyrt² = Mugwort, *Artemisia Pectica*, a species foreign to England.



Fig. a.

to. 23 v. Hennistelle = Henbane = *Hyoscyamus officinalis*, a Mediterranean species unknown as a native plant in England.

COTTON VITELLIIUS C.III. ANGLO-SAXON WORK OF ABOUT 1050.



FROM A MS. OF APULEIUS-DIOSCORIDES AT ETON COLLEGE, WRITTEN IN GERMANY ABOUT 1200



Fig. a.
fo. 26 verso. 'Iris Illirica seu Gladiola.'



Fig. b.
fo. 1 verso. 'Plantago.'



Fig. c.
fo. 43 verso. 'Basella.'

HARLEY 4986. A MS. OF APULEIUS DIOSCORIDES, WRITTEN IN GERMANY ABOUT 1200.
(Sister of MS. from which plate V is taken.)



Fig. a.

fo. 14 verso. "Dracontes" = *Dracunculus vulgaris*.

Fig. b.

fo. 15 verso. "Heliotropium"



Fig. c.

fo. 86 verso. Wolf.



Fig. d.

fo. 83 verso. Eagle.



Fig. a.
fo. 16. 'Peonia' = *Peonia* sp.



Fig. b.
fo. 37 verso. 'Viperina' = *Carduus marianus*.



Fig. c.
fo. 58 verso. 'Camedelum' = *Teucrium chamaedrya*.

BODLEY 130. A HERBAL WRITTEN AT BURY ST. EDMUNDS ABOUT 1120.

MS. ASHMOLE 1462.
ANGLO-NORMAN WORK
OF XIII CENTURY.

fo. 23. Centaure holding
'Centaury'

laeta facit. spali malagna. 7 impo-
nel. perfectissime sanar. **H**om. dicitur
herbe. Venenaria manet. **D**ryfolij
centaure.
Huius genera sunt duo.
Huius autem centaurias
duas distinguuntur di-
cuntur inuenisse. inter et
venene. ipsius centau-
ri nomen est 'ipocentaurus'.
Ipsi vero de his quibus
herbis medicinalibus miltum
in plurimisque agunt
etibus videntur.



Quam vocant am. centauros.

fo. 26. Mercury brings
'Electropon' to
Homer.

Acuta. 7 impoita: dolorem mactat
perfectissime sanar.
Homocent.
Autum.



Hom. dicitur herbe
Electropon. dicitur
aguntas vinctas habet.
Agunt dicitur. **H**om. dicitur
Heron. **A**ly. Scorpion. **A**ly. Crataea



三、

to 25. Camellia,

MS. SLOANE 1975. ANGLO-NORMAN WORK OF XIII CENTURY.



File 13

fo. 19 verso. *Aristolochia*. Contrast Fig. 5.



BLACK-FIGURE HYDRIA IN LEYDEN: BOYS WASHING

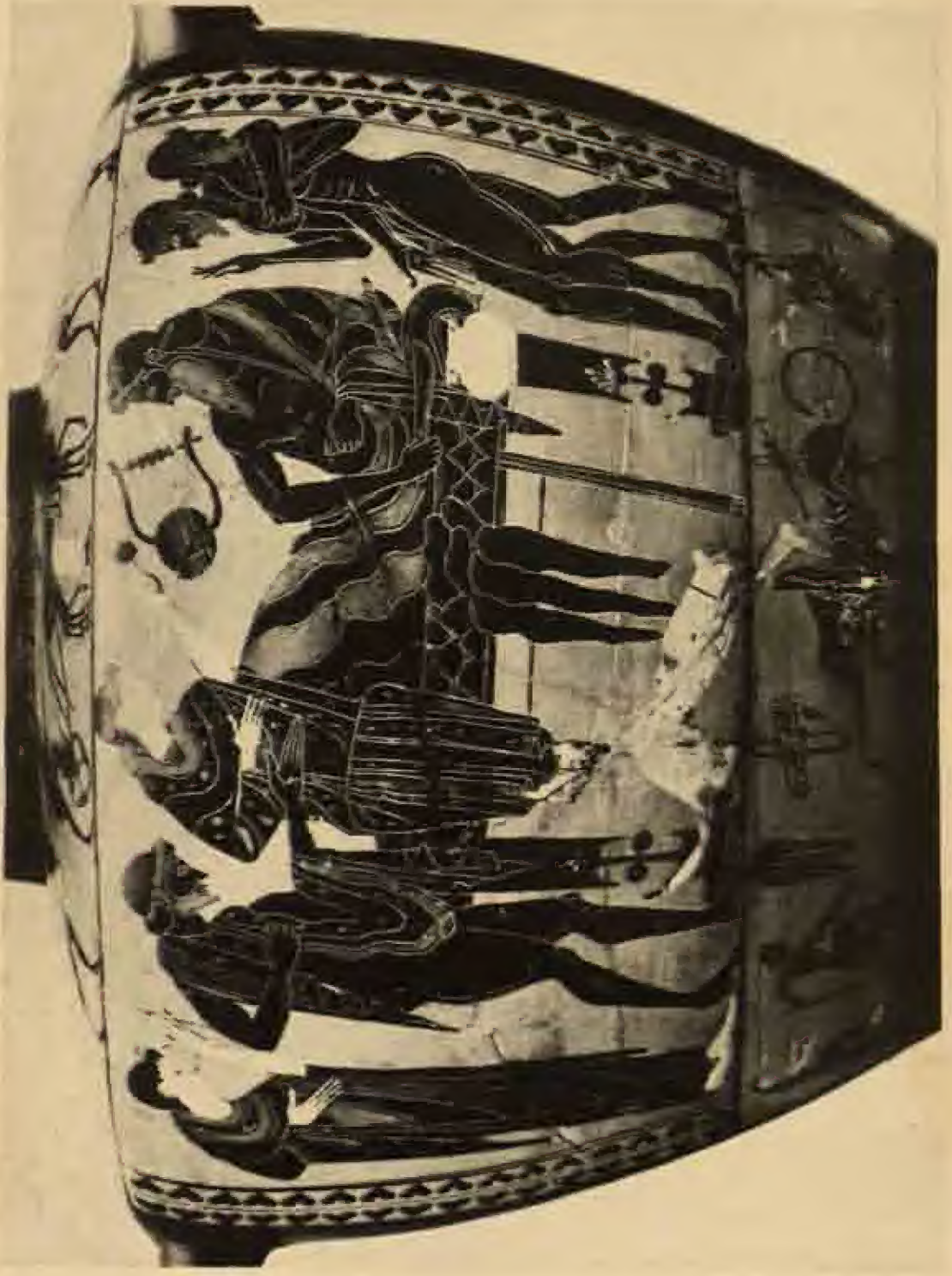


BLACK-FIGURE NECK-AMPHORAS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
B 220 HERAKLES AND PHOLOS
B 274 WARRIOR MOUNTING HIS CHARIOT



HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B. 304); HARNESSING HORSES





HYDRIA IN BERLIN (1800): BANQUET





a. ruins of an important building near the Lycian Gate
 b. the village
 c. the great ruin looking like the remains of a palace
 d. the ruin supposed to have been a theatre
 e. other ruins not yet examined
 f. imperfect ruins
 g. ruins of the castle
 h. the station from whence these bearings were taken



SARDIS, MAY 28TH 1750. 1. VIEW OF THE SITE FROM THE N. WITH MT. TMOLUS. 2. PLAN OF THE SITE TAKEN FROM THE ACROPOLIS





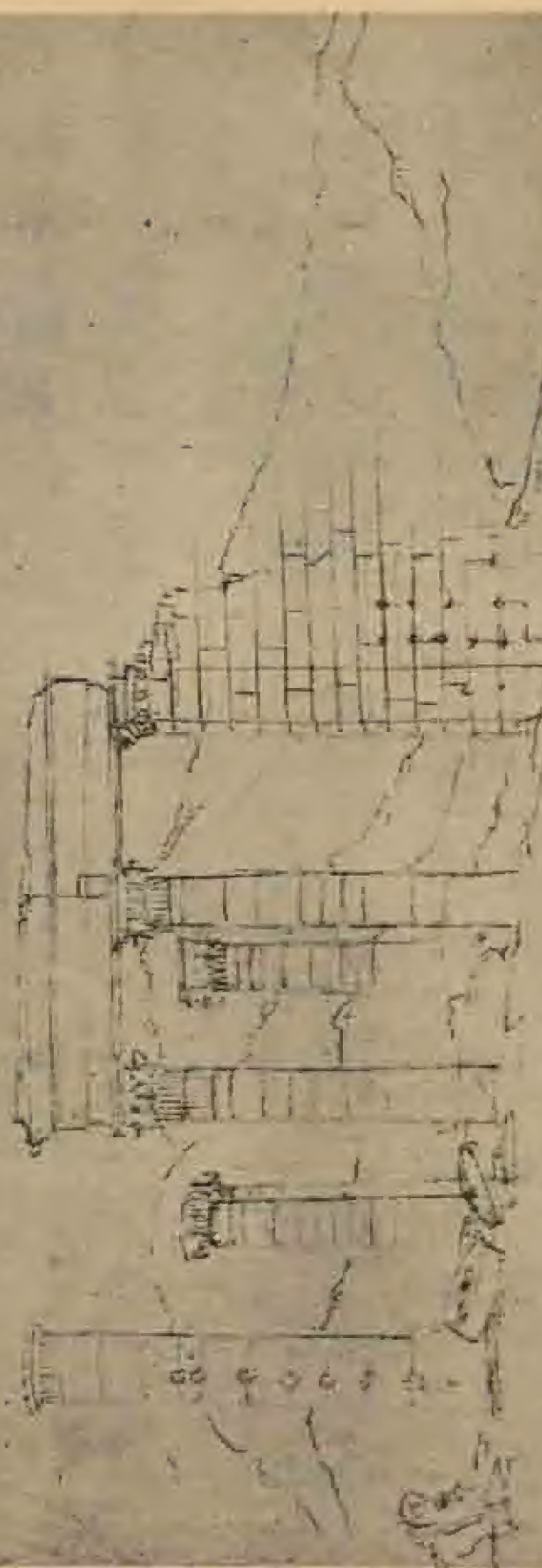
BARDIS. 1759. RUINED BRIDGE OVER THE PACTOLUS



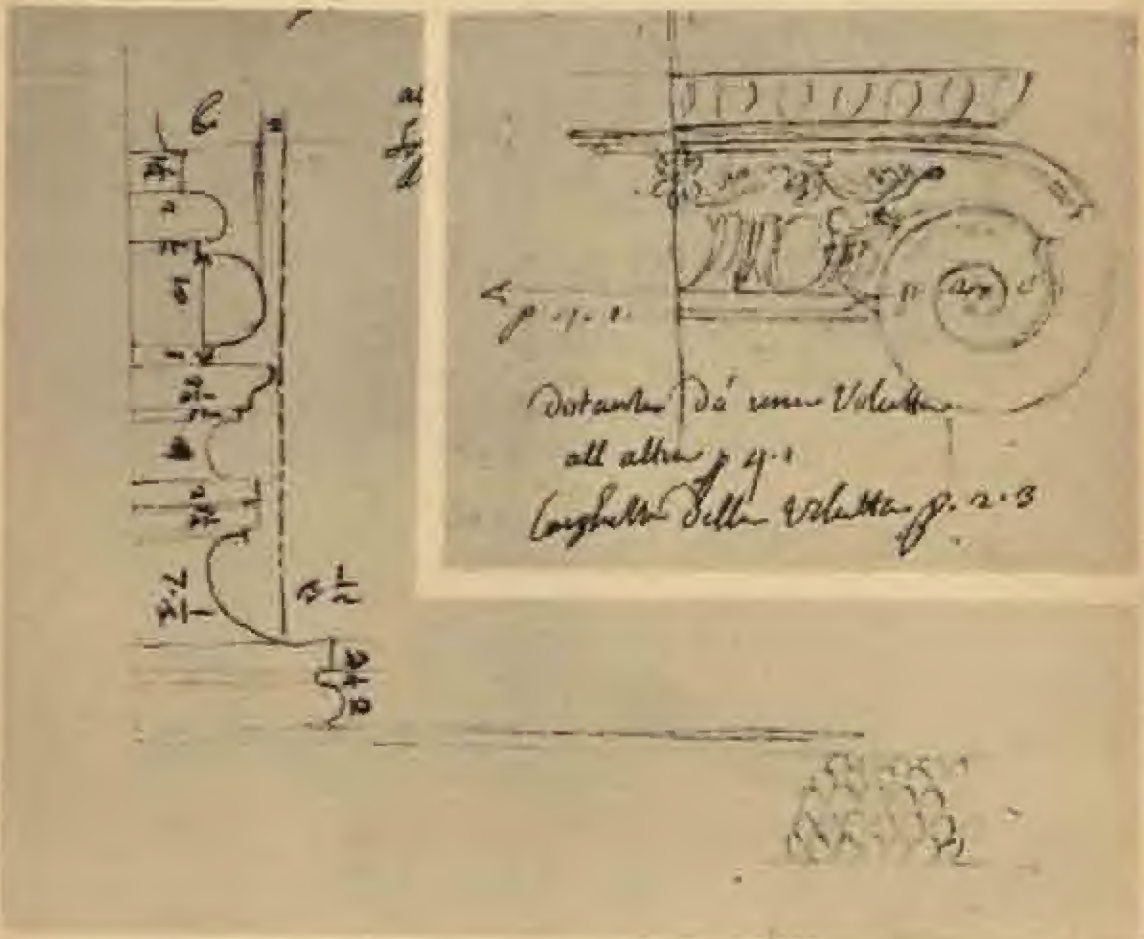
Donato 1750

SARDINIA, 1750. RUINS OF THE 'COURT OF JUDICATURE.' A. ON PLAN.

Disegno ricostruttivo del Tempio



SARDIS, 1750. THE E. PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS



BARDIS, 1750: 1, 2. DETAILS OF CAPITALS. 3. BASE OF COLUMN EXCAVATED BY WOOD



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Library	£1,962	Donations	£1,962
House	1,000	First Annual Contribution from	
Lease	2,300	General Funds	140
			<u>2,102</u>
		OUTSTANDING DEBT	3,160
			<u>£5,262</u>

Contributions towards wiping off this debt will be gratefully received by the
Hon. Treasurer, George A. Macmillan, Esq., D.Litt.,
St. Martin's Street, W.C. 2.

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1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.

2. Any such person desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.

3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.

4. Any Essay already published, or already in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.

5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.

6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.

7. The author of the Essay to which the Prize is awarded will be expected to publish it (within a reasonable time, and after any necessary revision), either separately, or in the Journals or Transactions of a Society approved by the Academy, or among the Transactions of the Academy.

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Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'

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59, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

President: PROFESSOR H. STUART JONES, D.Litt., F.R.S.

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GREEK SEA-POWER, 776-540 B.C., AND THE 'CARIAN' ENTRY IN THE EUSEBIAN THALASSOCRACY-LIST

I. *The Problem*.—The purpose of this note is to suggest a possible solution of a notorious difficulty in that curious and interesting historical document, the Thalassocracy-list quoted by Eusebius from Diodorus; and, secondly, to trace the historical implications following on the adoption of that suggestion.

The list of 'those who held the empire of the sea, from the fall of Troy to Xerxes' crossing into Europe,' was evidently given by Diodorus in the lost 'second volume'—Books VI to X—of his Historical Library in forty books. That work, we know, was arranged in sections of five books each, the second of which covered exactly that period—from the *Troia* to the *Mydica*—and this no doubt gives us the reason why the list does not continue so as to cover the thalassocracy of Athens. The latter fact cannot therefore, unfortunately, be used as evidence for an early fifth-century origin for the document. This, however, obviously need not deprive the list of all interest for us, especially since it appears to be corroborated by such evidence on its subject as we have from other sources.¹

It may be well to recapitulate here the central portion of the list, with which alone we are at present concerned—the entries, that is to say, for the period from the eighth to the middle of the sixth centuries B.C. The later entries offer no difficulty; the earlier are matter for a separate study.

From the eighth century onward the list, as 'edited' by Professor Myres in *J.H.S.*, vol. xxvi.—a contribution to which the present essay is deeply indebted—runs as follows (the 'variant readings' mentioned being those given in the corresponding passages of Jerome and Syncellus):—

' <i>Mare tenuerunt</i> ':	' <i>Annos</i> ':	Variant readings:
Aegyptii	—	—
Milesii	18	28
Cares	—	61, 59
Lesbii	—	96, 68
Phocaeenses	44	—
Samii	—	—
Lacedaemonii	2	12
Naxii	10	—
Eretrienses	15	—
Aeginetae	10	—

¹ W. Aly, in *Reinisches Museum*, lxxi, (1911), ascribes the list to Castor of Rhodes, Diodorus' contemporary (to whom Suidas attributes a *History of Sea-Power*), and would deprive it of any claim to independent authority, believing it to be a purely artificial construction based on sundry passages in Herodotus. This latter thesis, however, appears to be, at best, improbable; the

list, as we shall see, appears to allude to various incidents which Herodotus does not mention, but which are vaguely and partially known to us through later authors. It is quite gratuitous to ignore these allusions and thence to deny that the list preserves a certain amount of non-Herodotean matter not otherwise known to us.

The last five entries call for no remark here; they are in full agreement with Herodotus and indeed could almost have been compiled from his history. The relevant passages of other ancient historians have been collected by Myres, *loc. cit.* The numeral for Samos is lost, but can be restored approximately, since we know that Phocaea was at the height of her power when Cyrus destroyed the Lydian kingdom, and had ceased to exist as a political force some three years later (Hdt. i. 152, 163-167). Accepting the later date, 549, rather than the earlier, 546, for the fall of Sardis—for the earlier date involves the unlikely supposition that Cyrus delayed for some years between the prosecution of his Lydian and Babylonian wars—we then get 537 as the approximate date of the end of Phocæan sea-power in eastern waters. The list, it is noteworthy, is entirely unconcerned with the west. Hence, doubtless, the absence of Chalcis and Corinth. Phocæa then begins to 'rule the waves' about 581—546² probably means simply two conventional generations before 480.

Above this point the trouble begins. The text, in the numeral column at least, is thoroughly corrupt. The figure for Lesbos in the Excerpt from Diodorus in Eusebius is lost. Jerome gives it as 68 years—but the value of his evidence is discounted by the fact that he dates these 68 years as lasting from 671 to 575. There is in fact, as Professor Myres has shown, considerable difficulty in the way of ascribing to Lesbos so long a period of power. So far as we know, the island's only period of brilliance falls in the first generation of the sixth century—during and immediately after the dictatorship of Pittacus at Mytilene—perhaps twenty years in all. But of this entry more hereafter.

Next comes the crowning difficulty. The difficulties in the way of admitting the existence of a 'Carian thalassocracy' in the early seventh century are so obvious as to call for no more than the briefest rehearsal. This period is exactly that of the brilliant efflorescence of 'new' culture conveniently called the Ionian Renaissance. Poetry had burst the shackles of the worn-out epic tradition, art those of the geometric period. Contact with Egypt—even the weak and divided Egypt of the twenty-fourth Dynasty (Diodorus, i. 65)—and with the long isolated and half-orientalised Greek settlements of Cyprus and Cilicia, attested by archaeology and presently by Assyrian records, were revealing possibilities of civilisation undreamed of in the Aegean since Mycenaean days. But the age of Archilochus, of Callinus, and of the exuberant vigour of 'Orientalising' vase-painting had its necessary solid economic basis in the new development of maritime commerce; and it seems scarcely possible that anything approaching a control of the sea by the Carians, those utter barbarians and redoubtable fighters, whose only export was that of mercenary soldiers, could have existed without having hamstrung the entire Renaissance movement. We are not without information on this period, or even without some approach to a systematic record; it is here that Herodotus begins his history. He tells a fairly detailed, if not complete, story of the rise of an aggressive Lydian kingdom under the Mermnadae; he would hardly have omitted all mention of so unique and interesting an occurrence as the rise of an

² Authorities for this date: Solinus, *Sosistrates*; Dion. Hal., pp. 773, 820, *Polyth. c. 7*; *Diog. Laert. i. 95*, quoting

aggressive barbaric sea-power on the coast close to his own home. Certainly he could not have remained in ignorance of it; the traditions of Cnidus and Rhodes, of Miletus, the 'greatest city of Ionia,' of Samos, of which Herodotus shows so full a knowledge, of Halicarnassus, his own birthplace, would have had much to say, we may be sure, of Carian depredations. It becomes necessary to suppose that he who tells us with so engaging an interest about everything else between Gibraltar and the Ganges, from the high policy of Persian emperors to the personal habits of the North African savage, has for some reason preserved no hint of this important thalassocracy.

It may be so; the argument from silence is notoriously dangerous; but it certainly is most unlikely.

Professor Myres deals with the matter by a piece of heroic surgery. Excising the entry altogether from its present position, he inserts it at the top of the list, where he supposes it to have dropped out—immediately after the Trojan War, that is to say. The existence of a 'Carian thalassocracy' at that date is attested both by Thucydides (i. 8) and elsewhere by Diodorus (v. 84). The displacement downwards of all the other entries in the first part of the list seems, however, to the present writer to create certain new difficulties of its own. It is easier to see in the 'Lydian' entry which begins our list an allusion to the same pre-Hellenic activity on the Asiatic coast which Thucydides more accurately calls Carian. The use of the Lydian name, if one may judge from the Homeric Catalogue and the comments on it of ancient scholars (*e.g.* Strabo, xiv. p. 678, xii. p. 572), is, at so early a date, an anachronism.

With this and kindred complicated matters, however, we cannot here deal; but since it seems difficult either to accept the 'Carian' entry as it stands, or to alter the order of the list, some third course must be sought.

In point of fact a simple and satisfactory solution seems to be possible, on the hypothesis that the textual corruption that affects the whole central portion of the list, as regards the numerals, has in this entry extended to the *name* of the sea-power concerned. A mutilation of the archetype—that is, of Eusebius' text of Diodorus—seems as simple as any way of accounting for the chaos in the numeral column; and the difficulties melt away in a remarkable fashion if we suppose that the word transcribed by Eusebius as *KAPEZ* was, like its numeral, partially obliterated, and should, in fact, have been read as *METAPEIE*.

Megara was, in the seventh century, it is certain, more important and active than at any later period. That was the age of her greatest colonising enterprise, culminating, traditionally about 657, in the foundation of Byzantium.

As to the numerals, one may suggest, though with extreme diffidence, a slight alteration of the text. Mr. Fotheringham, in his criticism of Professor Myres' above-mentioned article (*J.H.S.*, vol. xxvii.), believes the best-attested figures for the 'Carian' and the two adjacent entries to be:

Miletus	18 years.
'Carians'	61 years.
Lesbos	63 1 years.

It is not impossible, historically, to accept these figures; but the information of the list tallies much more closely with that of our other sources if we emend to :

Miletus	68 years.
Megara	61 years.
Lesbos	18 years.

The corruption of these latter figures into those given in our Latin versions of the *Chronicon* would be very easy, owing to the identity of the Greek Ξ , =60, with the Latin X, =10.

I venture therefore to suggest reading the central portion of the list as follows :—

<i>Thalassocrata.</i>	<i>Dates (approx.).</i>
Egyptians	Before 728.
Miletus	728-660
Megara	660-599
Lesbos	599-581
Phocaea	581-537

II. 1. *Historical Implications.*—It now remains to collect the evidence on our subject. Though scattered and incomplete, it is by no means scanty. First of all, the question of the possibility of an Egyptian sea-power in the eighth century requires discussion.

Here the evidence is scantier than usual; but such as it is, it suggests that the existence of such a power is quite possible. The very fact that Egypt was then divided, and the Delta separate from the upper country (which has been used as an argument for the thesis that the Egyptian sea-power cannot have existed before the Saïte Dynasty, from 650 onwards), seems rather to tell in favour of letting the text, which places them in the eighth century, stand. The vigorous Delta population, a race apparently rather Mediterranean than Nilotic by blood, and much crossed with Libyan and perhaps sea-raider strains, during that infiltration of barbarians into Lower Egypt that followed the defeat of the great mass-movements round about 1200—this race, 'the most warlike of the Egyptians' according to Thucydides (i. 110), 'the dwellers in the fens, skilful rowers of ships,' as Aeschylus calls them (*Persae*, ll. 39-40), would be far more likely to turn seaward when left to itself than when under the rule of an up-country Pharaoh with inland interests to occupy his attention. And the evidence of the 'Bocchoris' stories, about that ill-fated king whose personality nevertheless made so strong an impression on the Greeks (Manetho, frag. 65, Diod. i. 65, 94), together with that of the Bocchoris vase, showing the king (or his warrior father?) driving the routed Nubians before him, shows that the Delta principality of Dynasty xxiv. was not a wholly negligible political force. Rather later, but still in pre-Saïte times, Strabo (xvii. p. 801) tells us of a set battle between the Milesian expedition, which planted 'Milesian fort' on the Delta coast, and the ships of a Delta chieftain bearing the common Lower Egyptian name of Inarôa. Even under the Roman Empire these people were still notable pirates, as the Greek novelists show (Achilles Tatius, iii. 9,

iv. 2; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, i. 5-6). Nothing would be more natural than that the Milesians should ascribe to the people, whose ships their own galleys had had to overcome during the penetration of the Levant, a thalassocracy covering the transitional period between the decay of Phoenician enterprise in the Eastern Mediterranean and the rise of their own.

We need not, therefore, displace the Egyptian entry downward; and accordingly the Milesian thalassocracy too may be dated as beginning in the eighth century, the period at which we should naturally expect it,—the period of the great outburst of Milesian energy that found its outlet in the colonisation of the Euxine. Cyzicus was occupied traditionally about 757, Trapezus about the same time, Sinope even earlier; Cerasus and Cotyora, and probably Amisus (Theopompus, frag. 202), slightly later. To the same age doubtless belong some of the settlements in the Propontis region for which we have no dates, such as Cardia and Limnae (Scymnus, 699-705), while Abydos, planted by permission of Gyges of Lydia (Strabo, xiii. 590), is a few decades later. Then, according to the list, the Milesian thalassocracy comes to an end.

This statement is frankly puzzling. Nearly all the later entries end with some great military disaster to the city concerned—the Eretrian thalassocracy with the fall of Eretria, the Naxian with the Persian expedition, not wholly successful though it was, of 505, the Phocaean and Samian with the Persian captures of those cities. But no such disaster can be shown to have befallen Miletus throughout the seventh century. Her colonising activity is undiminished. The great cities of Olbia, founded 654 (Eusebius) or perhaps rather later (Scymnus, 804-810), and Panticapaeum, another early foundation, as archaeology shows (Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, etc., p. 43), are only the most brilliant successes among nearly a score of colonies known to us by name, planted at all periods down to the Persian wars, on the north, east, and west coasts of the Black Sea. At the end of the seventh century, Miletus was at the height of her prosperity. Eastward, her new Lydian alliance meant freedom of trade with the great land-route through Asia Minor to the Euphrates; westward, her connections reached Etruria, via Sybaris and the Corinthian isthmus; internally, party feuds were silenced under the despotism of the great tyrant Thrasybulus (Hdt. i. 20, iii. 48, v. 92, vi. 21; Timaeus, frag. 60 in Athenaeus, xiii. 519).

There are, however, two circumstances which may, in the early seventh century, have diminished the fighting force of Milesian sea-power though not the wealth and commercial importance of the city. One is the city's growing interest in the affairs of the hinterland. The disappearance of the two great military powers of eighth-century Ionia—Colophon of the irresistible cavalry (Str. xiv. 643; cf. Ar. *Politics*, 1290 B) crushed by Gyges of Lydia (Hdt. i. 14), and Magnesia, the hardly less formidable cavalry-power (*Politics*, 1289 B, Aelian, *V.H.* xiv. 46), which had previously guarded the Maeander-valley route between Miletus and the interior, sacked by the Cimmerians (Str. xiv. 647, quoting Callinus and Archilochus)—removed the 'buffers' which had hitherto protected Ionia on the land side. Henceforth Miletus was intermittently at war with the Lydian kings for the rest of the century; and though the city was

probably never in serious danger, and though there were intervals of peace, like that in which Gyges permitted the occupation of Abydos, yet the strain on Milesian resources must have been considerable. Even in peace-time, Miletus was now committed to participation in continental affairs. One may compare, for a similar diversion of energy from sea to land, the development of land-power simultaneously with the decline of sea-power of Renaissance Venice; though the parallel is by no means complete.

Simultaneously, or nearly so, must have come the severe struggle of the Lelantine War; several of the more important pairs of states between which the usual neighbourly enmity existed—Samos and Miletus, Chalcis and Eretria, Chios and Erythrae, and probably others—had gradually become united into two widespread rival alliances, and it was inevitable that their smouldering jealousies should presently burst into flame. Miletus, with Chios (Hdt. i. 18) and Eretria (v. 99), also probably Megara and Aegina, stands against the five states, Samos, Chalcis, Paros, Andros and Erythrae (Plut., *Q.G.* xxx.) with, probably, Corinth (Thuc. i. 13). It was little more than a matter of chance that the war, which affected a large portion of the Greek world (Thuc. i. 15), broke out at last over a question of boundaries in Euboea.

It was by no means an unsuccessful war for the Milesians. Whether now or at some other date in the century, they and their Chian allies combined to deal with Erythrae (Hdt. i. 18)—an event with which we should presumably connect the arrival of Milesian colonists (Str. xiii. 588) at the old Erythro-Parian settlement of Parion in the Propontis; Erythrae was the 'official' founder* (Paus. ix. 27. 1). Milesians also supplanted the original Phocaeans colonists of Lampsacus, but at what date we cannot tell (Str. xiii. 589; Charon of Lampsacus, frag. 6). Apollonia on the Rhyndacus also passed by violence into Milesian hands at an early but unknown date (*Milet.* iii. Inscr. No. 155; cf. Hogarth in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* ii. p. 561) and the Parians of Thasos were driven by the Megarians of Chalcedon from a post, which they attempted to hold; at Archium on the Bosphorus (Dionysius of Byzantium, frag. 30). Retiring to Aenus, they were ejected again, by Lesbians—also Milesian allies, as we shall see—and even their settlement at Stryme near Thasos itself was attacked, though unsuccessfully, by the Chians of Maroneia (Philochorus, frag. 128, citing Archilochus).

However, while Miletus thus secured for herself the north-east passage, the Lelantine War proper went against her ally in Euboea. With details we are not here concerned; but it is sufficiently clear that severe fighting ended in the defeat of the Eretrians by Chalcis, assisted by Thessalian cavalry and by the men of her Thracian colonies (Str. viii. 448; Scholiast on Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 656; Plut., *Banquet*, p. 153; Aristotle, fr. 107 (Müller)). Thereafter Eretria lost her old points of vantage in the west at Cumae (Dion. Hal. vii. 3), which

* It was evidently an established custom in colonies of composite origin for one mother-state to be recognised as such, while the other gave the name; cf. Cyrene in Italy and Naxos in Sicily—both officially

Chalcidian (Str. v. 243, vi. 258) and perhaps 'Lindii' (=Gela)—Lindio-Cretan (Thuc. vi. 4)—a city whose noticeably 'Dorian' customs (Thuc., *ib.*) suggest a predominantly Cretan population.

fell to Chalcis, and Coreyra (Plut., *Q.G.* xi.) lost to Corinth, and became, for nearly two centuries, a second-class Power. These latter events do not directly affect our Thalassocracy-list, which confines itself strictly to eastern waters; but indirectly the blow was a heavy one for Miletus. Only when Corinth, on the fall of her oligarchy, deserted her old Samian alliance (Thuc. i. 13, contrast Hdt. i. 20) was the balance redressed.

Miletus, then, keeps her prosperity, but we need find no difficulty in believing that, as the list alleges, she declined in power.

The sceptre passes from her to her presumed ally, Megara. Samos and Aegina are perhaps eliminated by their gruelling war against one another (Hdt. iii. 59); while Megara—supported perhaps by Pheidon of Argos as a counterpoise to Corinth (Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iii. 541)—had recently defeated that state (before 683 B.C., Paus. vi. 19. 9) and emerges into the middle seventh century, at the end of the great period of warfare, as little damaged as any of the combatants. The seventh century is Megara's great age. She already had colonies at Astacus (planted 708 B.C.—Memnon) in the far east corner of the Propontis, and—a precarious footing—at Megara in Sicily (729, Thuc. vi. 4, or more probably later—Orsi, *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1895, pp. 109 *sqq.*). She planted others about 675 (Eusebius) at Chalcedon and at the old Milesian site of Cyzicus. What event made necessary or possible this refoundation of Cyzicus we are not told; perhaps Cimmerian depredations, like those which appear to have destroyed the Milesian colony at Sinope (Hdt. iv. 12) and left the place free for reoccupation a few decades later (Scymnus, 949 *sqq.*). But inscriptions show that the Cyzicene population remained predominantly Ionic. Then, round about 662, comes the first colonisation of the Thracian shore at Selymbria (Scymnus, 715) and a few years later (658—Jerome) the crowning of fifty years' work by the founding of Byzantium. Megara had now a firm grip on the narrow seas.

Relations with Miletus remained good, as is shown by the fact that the latter was able to continue the development of the Euxine. Istrus (655—Eusebius), Olbia (645—Jerome), and Panticapaeum (seventh century—Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 43), with many other colonies, can only have been planted by permission and with the goodwill of the keepers of the gate. The Megarians had good reason to consider themselves one of the great Powers of Greece. It was now, one remembers,—now, while Argos and Chalcis were considered the great military Powers of Greece, and while Sparta was renowned chiefly for the beauty of her women—that they sent to Delphi to inquire about the matter and were severely snubbed (Theocritus, xiv. 48, and scholiast *ad loc.*) It was they who held the Hellespontine Gate, while the Milesians sought elsewhere, notably in Saïte Egypt, a basis on which to rebuild their power.

The rest of our evidence on the history of Megara likewise supports the theory of exceptional maritime activity at this time. Megara, like so many other cities—Miletus, Samos, Corinth, Acragas, the western Cyme, Syracuse—touched the pinnacle of its importance under a tyrant. Here as elsewhere, with the rise of a merchant class and the growth of an urban proletariat, the hereditary squirearchy lost its power. The demagogue Theagenes made himself

tyrant in the third quarter of the century (Ar. *Politics*, 1305 A; cf. Thuc., i. 126) and seems to have shown himself a vigorous prince both at home and abroad (Thuc., *ib.*). His great aqueduct remained in the days of Pausanias, after nearly 800 years, the sole tangible relic of this golden age (Paus. i. 40. 1). A second revolution which towards the close of the century replaced the monarchy by a moderate democracy (Plut., *Q.G.* 18)—one is reminded of the democracy that seems to have existed in Chios at an equally early date (Nachmanson, *Hist. Griech. Inschr.*, No. 2)—must if anything have strengthened the state. Then, quite suddenly, came disaster.

It was about 600 B.C. that the Samians made a renewed attempt to win the empire of the Aegean.

II. 2. *The Downfall of Megarian Power.*—Samos, since the days of the Lelantine War, had, it would seem, been compelled to accept the position of a second-rate Power. Her colonies, of unknown date, at Nagidus and Celenderis on the Pamphylian coast, had not been very successful (Mela, i. 13), and those Hellenes who attempted to establish themselves still further east had been ejected by the strong arm of Assyria (Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 479-80, 486-89). In the presence of a strong and ancient civilisation the glittering prizes of the East had proved hard to win; Miletus had chosen more wisely, in concentrating on the development of vast and virgin resources in the superficially unattractive north. Even by the victory of their Chalcidian allies in the Lelantine War the Samians profited little. In the later seventh century they confined themselves to attempts to restore the balance by Western enterprises, beyond the horizon of Milesian policy and of our Thalassocracy-list, —helping Sparta against the rebellious Messenian patriots, and the Dorian colonists of Cyrene with their enterprise, and pushing at least one hazardous voyage into the farthest West (Hdt. iii. 47, iv. 152).

Now at last their opportunity seemed to have come. Miletus must have been seriously weakened, though her sea-power saved her from destruction, by her struggle with Lydia, now under the great Alyattes. For twelve years Milesian territory had been annually raided and the crops burnt; and the Milesians and their Chian allies had sustained two bloody defeats by the Lydian lancers (Hdt. i. 18).

Megara too was occupied at home. Her spirited foreign policy had perhaps overtaxed her strength; it had certainly involved her in an exhausting war with her Athenian neighbours—a state backward economically, but big and potentially powerful, and now beginning to seek a place in the sun. Already Theagenes had attempted to meet the danger by installing his friend Cylon as despot; but the conspiracy ended in disaster.

The war that now broke out centred round the island of Salamis, which changed hands repeatedly (Plut., *Solon*, 8-10). The evidence seems on the whole to favour the supposition that it was originally Megarian (Strabo, viii. 395; Hicks and Hill, *Inscr.* 4). It was almost certainly in progress, and it was probably now that the Megarians were in a fair way to win it, when Samos intervened with a masterly stroke—the colonisation of Perinthus, on the north coast of the Propontis (599 B.C.; Syncellus, p. 238).

Athens and Samos were almost certainly acting in concert. Their friends and enemies during the seventh and sixth centuries are, wherever we have evidence, identical. Both were hostile to Aegina, as well as to Megara (Hdt. iii. 59, v. 81), and consequently friendly to Corinth (Hdt. vi. 87, Thuc. i. 13). Both were also on good terms with Sparta (Hdt. iii. 47, Plut. *Solon*, 10); while Sparta's enemy, Argos, supports Aegina (Hdt. vi. 92) against Athens, as she had long since supported Megara against Corinth (see above). Corinth, however, had temporarily dropped out of the alliance under her Cypselid tyrants, who preferred the friendship of the dynast of Miletus and the Lydian and Egyptian kings. There is seldom any continuity between the foreign policy of a Greek tyrant and that of the republic which he has suppressed.

In parenthesis it may be noted that there is a curiously widespread opinion that Athens was friendly to Eretria and Miletus—a view based apparently on the Athenian support of the Ionian revolt, along with Eretria (Hdt. v. 99). This episode, however, proves nothing for any earlier period. The Persian coming had destroyed the old balance of power, as far as Asiatic Greece is concerned, and Miletus had, in fact, just performed that sudden political *volte-face* which for the first time dissociated her from the barbarophile party. After the Persian wars, certainly, Athens affects to succeed to the position of Miletus, attempting to restore Sybaris and the like; but as to the earlier period there is no evidence whatever for any such view. The evidence for an exactly contrary view is summarised above.

To appreciate the feelings with which the Powers interested in the Euxine trade must have regarded the establishment of a den of Samians in their midst, one has only to glance at the well-known 'Acaces Inscription' (Nachmanson, *op. cit.*, no. 6) from the base of a sixth-century marble statue in the Samian Heraeum:—'Dedicated by Acaces son of Bryson, who took toll of the booty for Hera, according to his stewardship.' It was worth while, that is to say, for the patron-goddess of the island to appoint a special *ἐπιστάτης* to look after that portion of her income which was derived from *σάλη*—*Auglice* 'loot.' There is something very attractive to unregenerate humanity in this glimpse of the pious Ionian buccancer giving tribute to his country's gods of the booty which the Lord hath delivered into his hand.⁴

It seems from this inscription, together with Herodotus' account of the career of Polycrates as tyrant—a son, it may be, of this very Acaces—to be clear that, while other Greeks had been developing legitimate trade, the Samians, driven into the outer darkness of the Western seas by the jealousy of their rivals, had remained unblushingly piratical. One is reminded of the contemporary pirates of Phocaea (Justin, xliii. 3. 5)—likewise a city which had suffered, in the loss of its colony at Lampacaeus (see above), through Milesian greed, as it was later to suffer through Chian jealousy (Hdt. i. 163); the Phocaean also, as Herodotus grimly tells us (i. 163), 'went voyaging, not in merchant vessels, but in ships of war.'

The fact that Miletus seems to have made no attempt to check the new

⁴ Cf. Bent's *Oxyrhynchus*, p. 153 (quoted by Ormerod, *Greek Piracy*, p. 17), for similar

plots on the part of mediaeval and modern corsairs in Greek waters.

Samian threat is probably to be accounted for by the fact that the state was exhausted by, if not still engaged in, the great Lydian War, but at all times the great tyrants were loth to use force where diplomacy would serve; and Thrasybulus of Miletus, the expert in tyranny (Hdt. v. 92), no doubt knew as well as others how likely was revolution to break out either in a victorious or a defeated army. Thucydides (i. 17), speaking of *military* history, remarks that the tyrants did 'nothing worthy of note'—and the reason no doubt is this, that they were not sure enough of their position. One may add that with their commercial interests they no doubt were loth to fight if it could be avoided; while they would not be affected by the perverted sense of honour that may drive an oligarchy into war rather than yield an inch.

Anyhow, the brunt of the war now fell upon the Megarians. Byzantium and Chalcedon sent their fleets against Perinthus, as did Megara such ships as could be spared from home waters. Perinthus was besieged, but a relieving fleet arrived from Samos, and in a pitched battle the Dorians were totally defeated. Hundreds of prisoners were taken, and Perinthus was saved (Plutarch, *Q.G.* lvii.).

But the collapse of Megarian sea-power did not pave the way at once for a thalassocracy of Samos. The same passage of Plutarch gives the reason; the Samian oligarchs, who would now presumably have been in a position to grant peace on their own terms, were forestalled by an outbreak of that savage class-warfare that always smoulders below the surface of Greek history. The oarsmen of their fleet—ever a democratic and insubordinate class, as fifth-century Athens knew—fraternised with their prisoners and finally arranged to carry through, jointly, a revolution in both cities. Arrived at Samos, the prisoners were paraded in triumph before the aristocratic Council—but with their fetters loosely fastened, and with daggers concealed under their clothing. At a given signal chains were shaken off, weapons drawn, and the triumphal march became a massacre.

So fell the land-owning oligarchy of Samos. Thereafter for two generations we know no more of Samian history, but a period of internal disturbance, as in contemporary Miletus, Megara, Athens and other states, seems probable. It is significant that we hear of no Samian thalassocracy until the rise of Polycrates.

Samos did not, then, profit greatly by her victory; but neither did Megara recover from her defeat. It is perhaps the disaster of Perinthus that explains the turn now taken by the war of Salamis, in favour of Athens. The island was lost, for ever as it proved, henceforth to be an Athenian and no longer a Megarian outpost. By land an Athenian invasion captured the port of Nisaea, at the very gates of Megara—a decisive success, could it have been secured, for it cut off the maritime city from more than half its sea-borne trade; but this at least was regained by a last effort of the Megarians (Plut. *Solon*, 10-12; Hdt. i. 59). The strain of a disastrous war perhaps accounts for the hysterical bitterness of the Megarian class-struggles that ensued. The 'moderate constitution' gave place to an extreme democracy; and by riots, by billeting themselves in the houses of the rich, and by ferocious and retrospective legisla-

tion directed against money-lenders—the *παιντοκία*—the people revenged themselves on their late masters (Plut., *Q.G.* xviii., lix.). At last the democracy became wholly discredited, and the attack of a band of *émigré* nobles overthrew it. A new and rigid oligarchy was set up—none were admitted save those who had taken an active part in the counter-revolution; and the nobles in turn gave themselves up to the business of revenge. Aristotle gives us the facts (*Politics*, 1300 A, 1302 B, 1304 B); but it is the fierce verse of the aristocrat Theognis that makes the whole episode one of the most vividly known to us in Greek history (Book I, *passim*; especially ll. 341-350; 847-850).

Thus, early in the sixth century, as our emended Thalassocracy-list indicates, the power of Megara fell. In spite of the small size and rugged surface of her territory, Megara, like seventeenth-century Holland, had been able under special circumstances to play a part beyond her strength. There were not wanting Greeks to draw the moral, characteristically, that her pride had led to a fall. Theognis sums up, in that musical and melancholy couplet (ll. 1103-4):—

Υβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα
καὶ Σμύρνην· πάντως, Κύρνε, καὶ ὅμμ' ἀπολεῖ.

II. 3. *The Thalassocracy of Lesbos: Conclusion.*—It may be as well to follow out to its consummation that struggle for the Hellespont—that Hellespontine War—which we have seen break out between Megara and Samos: and therewith is bound up the short history of the thalassocracy of Lesbos.

The collapse of Megara left the Athenians free to pursue a policy of expansion;² but the simultaneous collapse of their Samian allies made it evident that they must rely on their own unaided efforts to secure that share in the Pontic corn-trade which their growing population needed—and needed so much more keenly now that Solon's new economic policy had transformed Attica from a (barely) self-supporting agricultural into a commercial state (Plut. *Solon*, 24). And even though Megara and Miletus were now crippled by internal strife (Hdt. v. 28) the passage was not yet clear.

Mytilene, as being in a vague traditional way the 'metropolis' of all the Aeolic settlements in the North-east Aegean, claimed a kind of protectorate over them,—and more especially over the Tröad, as far as Milesian Abydos. All this they claimed by right of conquest in the Trojan War—and not without some reason, if it is true that Penthilus, grandson of Agamemnon, was the first Greek to colonise the lands laid open by the Achaean spear, and that the Lesbian nobles were of his race (Str. xiii. 599; Demo, frag. 20). In the seventh century the Lesbians had certainly shared the Euxine peaceably with Miletus and Megara—probably because their strategic position made it almost impossible to exclude them without enormous expenditure of treasure and blood. Mytilene was one of the very few states to colonise within the Pontus in the seventh century (Arrian, quoted by Eustathius, *ad Dionys.*, 549; date from archaeology,

² Erythrae also seems to have been attempting a *renaissance* about this time; for a war between her and Mytilene 'in the days of Alcaeus,' cf. Schol. on Nicander's 'Snake Bites,' citing the poet.

—see Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 65). So, later, we find Lesbos and Miletus in alliance against Polycrates (Hdt. iii. 39)—not that this alone would prove anything for the earlier period.

It was this Mytilenæan post of Sigeum, fortified long since by Archaeanax of Lesbos, founder of a family that Alcaeus mentions (frag. 35 B, Diehl, l. 8), that the Athenians now seized; a direct challenge to the Lesbians.

The latter, however, as the Thalassocracy-list shows us, were the strongest naval Power now left in the Aegean; there is probably a reference to the 'Mytilenæan empire' of this period in a curious passage of Aelian (*Varia Historia*, vii. 15); it was probably only by taking advantage of one of the internal disturbances that vexed Mytilene at this date, that the Athenians had been able to secure their point of vantage. But Mytilene recovered from her attack of the prevalent revolutionary fever, under the care of the great Pittacus, and the expedition found itself besieged and cut off from home by a Lesbian army under his command. The sea was evidently held by Mytilene throughout; we hear of no Athenian attempt to dispute the command of that element. Sigeum, however, held out strongly; the war is famous for the Lesbian defeat when Alcaeus throw away his shield, and for the romantic story of the single combat in which Pittacus killed the opposing commander (Str. xiii. 599-600; Diogenes Laertius, i. 74; Hdt. v. 95). Finally, both sides growing weary of the war, the dispute was settled by the arbitration of Periander; the merchant-prince appears, typically, as a peace-maker. His decision no doubt satisfied the popular definition of a compromise—a settlement of a dispute by which both parties receive what they do not want. Sigeum went to Athens as the prize of war—the Athenians advancing the preposterous claim that it was just as much their property as the other side's, since there had been Athenians also in the army before Troy!—but the Mytilenæans retained the post, fortified during the war as a base from which to operate against Sigeum, at the Barrow of Achilles. This enabled them to exclude Athenian shipping from Sigeum at will; which gave rise to the saying by some disgusted Athenian—probably a poet—that Periander 'set up the Barrow of Achilles as a post against Sigeum.' This statement was accepted later by Timæus as simple fact,—whence the controversy mentioned by Strabo, p. 600. Peace on such terms can have differed little from the previous desultory war; and in fact we find that Sigeum changed hands again not many years after, for Herodotus (*loc. cit.*) says that Peisistratus had to capture it in a second war, which our historian confuses with the first. His Attic source clearly ignored Athenian disasters. By that time Pittacus must have been dead and the power of Mytilene waning; and now it was that the Phocæans, already a leading Power in the west since their foundation of Massalia (600 B.C.,—Scymnus, 213) and development of the Tartessian silver-trade, at last took the opportunity of asserting themselves nearer home.

Phocæa seems to have been a city that developed late. Her only early colony seems to have been that planted, not, for once, by the state, but by private enterprise, at Lampsacus; a weak settlement, presently annexed, as we have seen, by Miletus. Thereafter, finding all the nearer sites suitable for colonisation already held, she had been fairly compelled to concentrate on

Western exploration; and she had thriven on it. Now, round about the year 586 (Scymnus, 918) she was actually strong enough to seize the magnificent site of Amisus, in the heart of the Pontus—a place with a chequered history, and originally a colony of Miletus (Theopompus, frag. 202).

This made a final end of the domination of the North-east passage by the Megarians and Milesians. Phocaea was too powerful to be ejected, and her trade-competition was a very serious matter (Hdt. i. 165). Herodotus agrees with the Thalassocracy-list, that she remained the leading state of Ionia from this time down to the date of her spectacular fall before Harpagus the Mede.

To sum up:—

There is no need for drastic rearrangement of the list, if the emendation *ΜΕΓΑΠΕΙΣ* for the refractory *ΚΑΡΕΣ* be adopted; and since it is certain that the text of the central part of the list is corrupt, at least as regards the numerals, there is no improbability in supposing a few letters to have become wholly or partly obliterated in one of the names. The text order of the thalassocracies is thus established. As to the duration of each, it is impossible to say certainly what the correct readings for the central entries may be; but this matters the less, since we have, from other sources, sufficient information to enable us to supply approximate dates.

There was, strictly speaking, an interregnum between the decline of Phœnician sea-power and the rise of that of Miletus. This gap the compiler of our list filled by inserting an Egyptian thalassocracy; he was prompted by the prominence of Egyptian contacts in the history of the Ionian Renaissance, and especially by his knowledge that at least one Milesian victory over an Egyptian fleet had been necessary, during the establishment of Milesian control of the south-eastern seaways. Then follows the period of Milesian supremacy, and of the foundation of her first and most successful colonies.

The Lelantine War, and complications with Lydia, lead, before the middle of the seventh century, to a decline of Milesian power, though, like fourth-century Athens, she remains a great city. Megara, controlling the Bosphorus passage, rules the waves throughout the period of the reign of Theagenes. Her power ends abruptly with her wars against, and complete defeat by, Athens and Samos; and during the period of internal strife at Miletus, Megara and Samos, Mytilene, thanks to her control of almost the entire Troad (Str. xiii. 599) and also Sestos in the Chersonese, becomes thalassocrat. The challenge of Athens to her supremacy meets, at most, with only limited success. After the death of Pittacus, however, the trident is wrested from her by a more formidable rival—Phocaea. The Lesbian thalassocracy has then lasted from about 599 B.C. to about 581 B.C. Of its fall we have no details; but the second colonisation of Amisus shows the sweeping character of the Phœcean victory.

A. E. BURN.

MISSAK ΛΑΤΥΠΟΣ!

At the invitation of Sir William Ramsay, I make public a formal statement of the information acquired by me in 1912 and 1913 (and communicated informally to him and to others at the time) bearing on the statuette published by him in *Athenaeum*, 1909, p. 736, and in *The Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey* (1909), pp. 214 ff., 307 ff.

On the afternoon of June 27th, 1913, after Sir William had left for

England, I sat with our common servant, Prodrornos the Djimji, in the garden of the Baghdad Hotel at Konia, making arrangements for a journey which was to begin on the following day. The conversation came round to the 'Mithraic' statuette (which Prodrornos then declared he had never seen, and which he had always maintained to be genuine), and Prodrornos told me that he had seen in the bazaar a statuette similar to my description of it. I determined to obtain a view of this statuette, and accompanied Prodrornos to a raki shop whose proprietor, an Armenian called Ovannes Agha, showed me an unfinished marble statuette (Fig. 1). Ovannes stated that this statuette had been left unfinished by an Armenian of Adalia, named Missak, who had been in Konia before 1909. While in Konia, said Ovannes, Missak had also completed two marble monuments, one of which had been sold to a



FIG. 1.—UNFINISHED STATUETTE
FROM KONIA.

Dutchman, from whose possession it had passed into that of a foreign resident of Konia (hereafter referred to as Mr. X); the other of which had been given to an Armenian butcher who sold it to Sir William Ramsay. I purchased the unfinished statuette for a small sum which Ovannes said that Missak owed him (doubtless double the actual debt, if such existed). It measures (including the base) m. 0.28 in height by m. 0.144 across the base, and is (and was when I first saw it) of white sparkling marble.

Ovannes' story was confirmed by a Moslem goldsmith, a neighbour of Ovannes, whom Prodrornos described as a trustworthy man (πολύ τίμιος άνθρωπος).

In 1912 I had seen a small relief (Fig. 2) in the possession of Mr. X; Mr. X informed me that he had acquired it from a Dutchman, whose name I was told, but did not record.

I may add that when I scrubbed this relief for an impression, a light brown substance with which it was coloured washed off, disclosing a white sparkling marble, which looked as if it had been freshly carved. This confirmed my suspicion that the relief was a forgery, for I had never known the natural discoloration of marble to disappear in this way; and I commented on the fact to Mr. X, who was present. I mention this circumstance, because it may possibly have some bearing on a statement (in reference to the 'Mithraic' statuette) on p. 220 of Ramsay's *Revolution*, etc.; 'The material is a fine white sparkling marble, but it was dulled with a coating of the fine dust of 1600 years when we first saw it.' According to the story accepted by Sir William Ramsay (p. 308), this statuette had been discovered, wrapped in several folds of cloth in a stone box inside another stone box (p. 311),¹ at Emir Ghazi several years prior to 1909 and carried [87 miles] to Konia. Can the coating have been fine dust?

Such is the case against the statuette, partly founded, I admit, on the gossip of an Oriental bazaar. The external case for its genuineness rests on similar support (see *Revolution*, etc., *loc. cit.*). Whether it can survive such a stain on its pedigree may be left to the judgment of those who turn to the photograph published, *ibid.*, p. 218.



FIG. 2.—FORGED RELIEF.

W. M. CALDER.

¹ This recalls the Arabian Nights. I do not of course suggest that every detail in

the story was accepted by Sir William Ramsay.

A SCENE FROM THE ANATOLIAN MYSTERIES

THE marble which I described with little comprehension and several errors in a letter to the *Athenaeum*, 1909, p. 736 (repeating the same words in a popular book on the *Revolution in Turkey*, 1909), is characterised as a forgery by Professor Calder in the preceding pages. I consider it genuine, a unique monument of the old Anatolian religion, when that almost disused cult was revived in the alliance between the Empire and Paganism against Christianity; and the date of the work is in the fourth century. On that alliance see *Aberystwyth Studies*, iv. p. 1 f. Several very excellent authorities have on careful inspection pronounced it indubitably genuine: I consulted them, as I have always hated the thought of being in any way connected with a forgery; and I have rejected many forgeries. All the facts collected by Calder in 1913 were known to me in 1909, and many more. I could tell about several other forgeries by Missak, whom I heard of only as 'the Armenian,' not as Missak, whether it be a true or false name.

The material is very fine marble. A great German scholar, not a specialist in marble, in 1910, said it was the finest piece of marble he had ever seen; and Mr. Guy Dickins, who was a specialist, declared it to be closely akin to the finest island marble. Marble is rarely seen on the plateau of Asia Minor. The Docimian quarries have long been worked out. Any good white limestone is called by the Turks *mermer-tash*; and travellers often loosely imitate this phrase, which in ordinary cases does no harm. I said in 1909 that the work 'is extremely ugly and devoid of the faintest artistic merit, so that hardly any Museum would care to possess it.'¹ Now, as knowledge of early Anatolia has increased, I think it a very valuable religious monument. It has the pyramidal schema (violated in the hideous imitation by a forger). I trust to publish it with a suitable commentary; but I must wait until I comprehend it fully. The old Anatolian religion is almost unknown: I published some monuments of it in *B.S.A.*, 1912-13. We must await the results of excavation: the spade is much needed in Asia Minor, but the money is wanting, and the results would not be an ornament to museums. The right-hand figure I understand: the left-hand figure is enigmatic. I found some new light on the central figure in November 1926. The paucity of information about Cappadocia is a difficulty.

I have not the purchaser's permission to place the monument in the British Museum for comparison with the forgery of the Armenian *λαρύνος*, whom Professor Calder might better have called a *λαυρόμος*. If they be set

¹ An old Anatolian monument used to be exhibited in the British Museum, before 1881, and is in the basement, No. 2143. There are two other early Anatolian

monuments (wrongly called Hittite, really pre-Hittite) at Passadler and at Ulutan Binar.

side by side; it will be at once evident that the two were not made by the same hand.

I investigated at Emir-Ghazi in 1909 the whole circumstances, and proved the presence of the Armenian butcher there in 1908. Professor Calder speaks of an Armenian as Ovannes Agha at Konia. The title Agha was never given to an Armenian.² All the persons mentioned by Professor Calder and their characters were known to me long before he ever saw Asia Minor.

I depend in no jot and no whit on 'bazaar-gossip,' as he says that I did: his only warrant is that he confesses to be dependent on that source, four years after the events. I was wrong in calling the monument Mithraic. Mithraism was practically unknown in Asia Minor.³ I did not buy it: and did not see it when it was bought in Konia.

Professor Calder errs also in speaking of his Fig. 2 as marble. It is limestone. It was bought from 'Missak' by the General Manager of the Anatolian Railway, Mr. Huguenin, for a trifle, and sold by him to Dr. W. S. Dodd at a profit for the museum collected by his sister, who of course rejected it at sight as a forgery.

The reason why 'Missak' omitted the third figure, and violated the pyramidal scheme, was that the original was purchased for a small sum by the present owner, while the forger was at work on it. The butcher who had brought it so far hoped to get a better price; but he was pressed for money.

WILLIAM M. RAMSAY.

² This should have warned Professor Calder that there was something wrong in the gossip.

³ Exceptions (the most important published by me long ago) must not detain us here.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1925-1926

IN the following pages I have tried to give a brief survey of the progress of epigraphical discovery and discussion during the years 1925 and 1926, following the order of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* in dealing with inscriptions discovered in European lands and that of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* in the case of those found in Asia or Africa. I have included reviews only in exceptional cases, because they afford summaries of books not generally accessible or because they make some original contribution to the study in question.

During the years under review death has taken a heavy toll among epigraphists, especially in France, which has been bereft of three outstanding scholars—P. Foucart,¹ T. Homolle² and B. Haussoullier.³

I. GENERAL

The flow of epigraphical books and articles, many of which are of great and permanent value, continues unabated, and the task of the bibliographer is in consequence no easy one. My own summary for 1923-24 appeared in this *Journal*,⁴ except the section relating to Egypt, which was published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.⁵ P. Roussel has drawn up⁶ an admirable bibliography covering the whole ground, while others confine themselves to the fields of philological⁷ or Byzantine⁸ studies. The detailed 'Chroniques des Fouilles' published annually in the *B.C.H.*⁹ record a number of recent epigraphical discoveries, the most important of which are noted in their appropriate places in the following pages.

Although no fresh instalment of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* has been issued in the past two years, it is reassuring to know¹⁰ that the work of preparation is going forward and that some at least of the gaps are likely to be filled ere long. Of the *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* a further fascicule has appeared, which will be noticed below (Section VIII), while of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, the value of which is widely acknowledged,¹¹ the second volume, comprising 890 items, is now complete.

¹ *Rev. Arch.* xxiv. (1926), 67 ff.; *Riv. Fil.* liv. 571 f.; *Journ. d. Savants*, 1926, 318 ff.

² *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1926, 92 ff.

³ *Rev. Phil.* l. 113 ff.; *Journ. d. Savants*, 1926, 367 ff.; *Syria*, vii. 287 f.

⁴ *xiv.* 102 ff., 183 ff.

⁵ *xi.* 327 ff.

⁶ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxvii. 331 ff. Cf. *Rev. Phil.*, *Recue des Sciences*, xlviii. 139 ff., xlix.

60 f., l. 92 ff.; *Revue des Comptes Rendus*, xlviii. 66 f., xlix. 54 f., l. 52 f.

⁷ *Glossa*, xiv. 193 ff.

⁸ *Byz. Zeits.* xxiv. 483 ff., xxv. 487 f., xxvi. 227 f.

⁹ *xlviii.* 446 ff., *xlix.* 438 ff.

¹⁰ *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1926, ix.

¹¹ *Arch. Rd.* xxiii. 53; *Athena e Roma*, vii. 138 ff.; *Oriens. Rev.* xl. 126 f.; *Annuaire*, l. 617 f.; *Riv. Fil.* liv. 129 ff.

In his masterly edition of the lesser works of the Greek poets of the Ptolemaic era J. U. Powell¹² has included a number of literary compositions which have survived on stone, among which are the poems of Maïistas and Ieyllus, the Hymn of the Curetes, the Hymn to the Idaean Dactyls, the Paean of Aristonous, Lamenius, Macedonius and Philodamus, and a number of minor poems. Among the most recent additions to Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* is a collection of Greek historical epigrams,¹³ selected, arranged and provided with a brief but useful commentary by F. von Hiller—a collection all the more welcome because of the exclusion of metrical inscriptions from Dittenberger's *Sylloge*; of the 134 texts, ranging from about 600 B.C. to the sixth century A.D., two are drawn from papyri, fifty-seven from literature and seventy-five from inscriptions. Of C. Gittermann's article¹⁴ on Greek metrical epitaphs I know only the title.

H. Jensen has published a comprehensive and amply illustrated history¹⁵ of writing, which traces its evolution from its earliest stages to the fully developed alphabetic script, discussing especially fully the Phoenician writing and its derivatives (p. 116 ff.) and the Greek alphabet and those which are descended from it (p. 155 ff.). The appearance of a second edition of F. Dornseiff's work¹⁶ on the alphabet in its mystical and magical aspects is of interest, while C. D. Buck's remarks¹⁷ on the introduction of Greek writing, which he attributes to the tenth century, and C. C. Torrey's discussion¹⁸ of the source of alphabetic writing also deserve careful notice. I regret that, in order to keep this Bibliography within reasonable limits, I must pass over in silence the many books and articles devoted to the Sinaitic inscriptions, the Phoenician discoveries at Byblus and the Samaritan ostraka, though these are not wholly irrelevant to the study of the origins of Greek writing: I cannot, however, refrain from calling attention to K. Sethe's work¹⁹ on the origin of the alphabet and R. Dussaud's essay²⁰ on the evidence from Samaria. R. Hallo has written an interesting account²¹ of the Greek use of the alphabet for numerical purposes and the extension of this system to other races.

In two articles²² which draw largely on the abundant epigraphical materials A. D. Nock has discussed some aspects of the religious revival which marks the Augustan age and certain beliefs and tendencies characteristic of the Greco-Roman religion of the Empire. E. Kagarow has attempted²³ a formal classification of the Greek *devotiones* in seventeen types and has examined their development and style. L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde have given a

¹² *Collectiones Alexandrinae*, Oxford, 1925.
Cl. Class. Rev. xxxix, 190.

¹³ *Historische Griech. Epigramme*, Bonn, 1926; cf. *Mélanges Beyrouth*, xi, 388; *Phil. Woch.* xlvii, 321 ff.

¹⁴ *Wiener Blätter*, iii, 44 ff.

¹⁵ *Geschichte der Schrift*, Hanover, 1925.

¹⁶ *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, Leipzig, 1925.

¹⁷ *Class. Phil.* xxi, 14 f.

¹⁸ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx, 86 f. *Cl. Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* xlv, 269 ff.

¹⁹ *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, Berlin, 1926; cf. *Zeits. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, lxxx, 24 ff. I do not know J. Zoller, *Sinaitische u. griech.-latein. Alphabet*, Trieste, 1925.

²⁰ *Syria*, vi, 327 ff.

²¹ *Zeits. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, lxxx, 59 ff.

²² *Class. Rev.* xxxix, 60 ff.; *J.H.S.* xlv, 84 ff.

²³ *Arch. Rel.* xxi, 494 ff.

valuable survey²⁴ of Greek Christian inscriptions from the standpoints of technique, geographical distribution and formulae; H. Leclercq has summarised²⁵ the history of the principal collections of Greek inscriptions, and W. Deonna has dealt²⁶ with Christian apotropaic formulae. M. Sulzberger's long investigation²⁷ of the symbol of the Cross and the monograms of Christ among the early Christians takes into consideration numerous inscriptions from all parts of the Mediterranean world, as do also F. Cumont's collection and discussion²⁸ of the inscriptions—four Aramaic, three Latin and sixteen Greek—which appeal to the sun as avenger, and of the monuments, thirty-four of which bear Greek inscriptions, representing two upraised hands, and V. Gardthausen's magnificent work²⁹ on the ancient monogram.

Other works based mainly or wholly on epigraphical materials are W. W. Tarn's proof³⁰ of the continued existence and activity of the Arcadian League from Alexander the Great to 235 B.C., A. Kuenzi's dissertation³¹ on public subscriptions as a factor in the finance of Athens and other states, and J. H. Thiel's essay³² on dues levied in the Greek world for the use of public lands or harbours. A. S. Arvanitopoulos' survey³³ of his scientific work, much of which has been epigraphical in character, and L. D. Caskey's *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* in the Boston Museum,³⁴ which contains two epitaphs and a dedication from Attica (Nos. 11, 24, 47) and a Lydian votive text (No. 107), must also be mentioned.

It is no part of my task to register all discoveries or discussions of vase-inscriptions: to do so would be almost tantamount to drawing up a bibliography of Greek ceramics. Leaving aside, therefore, all books dealing primarily with that study, I must restrict myself to a brief reference to the new evidence for the names of Chachrylion,³⁵ Clitomenes,³⁶ Hecastorides,³⁷ Hermaeus,³⁸ Nicostratus,³⁹ Pasiades,⁴⁰ Praxias⁴¹ and Tleson.⁴²

II. ATTICA

O. Walter's descriptive catalogue⁴³ of the reliefs in the Small Acropolis Museum, accidentally omitted from my last Bibliography, contains incidental

²⁴ *Diet. d'Archéol. Chrétienne*, vii. 623 ff. Cf. *Mélanges Bregnot*, xl. 389 ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.* vii. 1074 ff. Cf. other articles in the same Dictionary, e.g. *Graffiti*, IXΘΥΣ.

²⁶ *Rev. Arch.* xxii. (1925), 66 ff.

²⁷ *Byzantion*, ii. 337 ff.

²⁸ *Mémoires Publ. Acad. Roum.* i. 1. 65 ff.

²⁹ *Das alte Monogramm*, Leipzig, 1924; cf. *Phil. Week.* xli. 467 ff.

³⁰ *Class. Rev.* xxxix. 104 ff.

³¹ *Épigraphie*, Bern, 1923. Cf. *Phil. Week.* xlvii. 491 ff.

³² *Klio*, xx. 54 ff.

³³ *Εμμεγισμένη Ίσχυς*, Athens, 1926.

³⁴ *Harvard U.P.*, 1923.

³⁵ *Harvard Studies*, xxxv. 76 ff.

³⁶ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 432 ff.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 35 f.

³⁸ *Arch. Anz.* xxviii./ix. 166 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 62.

³⁹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 61.

⁴⁰ *Monuments Piot*, xxvi. 67 ff.

⁴¹ *Ath. Mitt.* xlviii. 24 ff.

⁴² *Arch. Anz.* xl. 140. See also *Ibid.* 112, 134 f., 140; *Hesperia*, lxi. 282; *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 422 ff.; *Die Antike*, i. 273 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 67.

⁴³ *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum*, Vienna, 1923.

references⁴⁴ to a number of inscriptions, as does also A. Brueckner's lecture⁴⁵ on Attic grave-reliefs. P. Geissler's important monograph on the chronology of the Old Comedy⁴⁶ begins with a survey of the 'Theaterurkunden,' which rank among the principal materials for this study. A large number of notes on Attic inscriptions are collected in E. Preuner's 'Aus alten Papieren';⁴⁷ among them are discussions of the provenance of texts which may belong to Salamis or Eleusis, a section on the choregic records copied by C. Curtius and an excursus on the building which contained the *didascaliae* and the dramatic victor-lists.

[*I.G.* i.²] *Down to 403 B.C.*—Few new texts of this period have been added to those collected in *I.G.* i.² Excluding vase-inscriptions, we may note an early epitaph in retrograde writing from Paeania,⁴⁸ a *boustrophedon* tomb-epigram recently taken to New York,⁴⁹ part of a fifth-century *ἑπὶς νόμος*⁵⁰ discovered near the shrine of Heracles at Cynosarges, a boundary stone⁵¹ of the temple of Artemis Orthosia found N.E. of Mount Hymettus, several new fragments of the tribute quota-lists, to which reference is made below, and a fragment of the accounts of the Commissioners of the Eleusinian goddesses, published with an exhaustive commentary by J. J. E. Hondius.⁵² The remaining sixteen inscriptions of this period with which Hondius deals, though unpublished when his dissertation was written, appeared in *I.G.* i.² in the autumn of 1924: this has not, however, deprived Hondius' book of its interest and importance, for, apart from the inscriptions of the fourth and later centuries which it comprises, his readings, restorations, illustrations and discussions of the documents in question serve as an invaluable supplement to the texts contained in the *Corpus*. They will be mentioned severally in the following notes, which relate to the inscriptions as numbered in *I.G.* i.² A. Wilhelm's masterly article⁵³ on five Attic decrees was written before the publication of that volume, but came into my hands too late to be noticed in my last Bibliography.

1. S. Luria offers⁵⁴ a new restoration of the 'Salaminian Decree,' based in part on *I.G.* ii.² 30, maintaining that it relates to Attic cleruchs and not to native Salaminians. In this view G. De Sanctis concurs,⁵⁵ but his restoration differs in several important particulars from that of Luria, and he assigns the

⁴⁴ See Index, p. 243.

⁴⁵ *Arch. Anz.* xii. 264 ff.

⁴⁶ *Chronologie der attischen Komödie*, Berlin, 1925. Cf. *Class. Rev.* xl. 21; *S.E.G.* iii. 143 f.

⁴⁷ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 195 ff.

⁴⁸ A. D. Koramopoulos, 'Ἐκθέσις περί τῶν ἑπὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν καθήκοντων', Athens, 1926.

⁴⁹ C. Alexander, *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xx. 269; T. Reinach, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1925, 324 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 55.

⁵⁰ G. I. Karouzos, 'Ἀρχ. Δοκ.' viii. 96 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 18.

⁵¹ H. Müblius, *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 15 f.

⁵² *Nomen Inscriptiones Atticae* (Leyden, 1925), 91 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 35. Cf. *J.H.S.* xlv. 280 f.; *Göt. Gel. Anz.* clxxxviii. 190 f.; *Phil. Woch.* xvi. 1156 ff.; *Gnomon*, ii. 707 ff.

⁵³ *Jahreshefte*, xxi./ii. 123 ff.

⁵⁴ *C.R. Acad. Sci. Russ.* 1924, 134 ff.; *Klio*, xxi. 68 ff.; *Buscolta di scritti in onore di G. Lundström*, 313; *Hermes*, lxi. 270.

⁵⁵ *Biv. Fil.* liv. 49 ff., 570 f. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 1; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* i. 2, Nachtrag, 13 f.

measure to the Cleisthenic period, while Lurii dates it under the domination of Pisistratus.

6. Hondius⁵⁶ has proposed a restoration of ll. 88, 89 of the Attic law regulating the Eleusinian cult.

14, 15. The decrees relative to the Colophonians have been published by Hondius,⁵⁷ who offers a considerably fuller restoration than that given in *I.G.*

18. The decree referring to Aegina also has been edited by Hondius.⁵⁸

40, 41. M. Cary has republished⁵⁹ the text, as reconstituted by F. von Hiller,⁶⁰ of the well-known decrees dealing with Hestiaea, and has discussed their historical interpretation.

42. The same scholar has essayed,⁶¹ independently of *I.G.* i.², a restoration of a further decree regulating relations between Athens and Hestiaea.

49. A. Wilhelm claims⁶² that *I.G.* i. 57, 95 and 116 *b* (i.² 114 and 49, frags. *b*, *c*) belong to one and the same inscription, but denies that 116 *b* (i.² 49, frg. *a*) is part of it.

50. A restoration of frg. *c* of the treaty with the Samians has been proposed by Hondius,⁶³ who points out that the same fragment has been repeated as i.² 102.

57. A. B. West has shown⁶⁴ that the current view, that the first Athenian decree for Methone was passed in 428, is open to grave objection and seeks upon the evidence of the decree itself, of Thucydides and of the quota-lists to date the decree early in 429.

59. A. Wilhelm has restored⁶⁵ by the collocation of three fragments, the text of a decree passed about 427/6 B.C. in honour of a Colophonian.

60. P. H. Davis has materially increased the value of the decree relative to the cleruchs sent to Lesbos in 427 by proving⁶⁶ that fragments *b* and *c* are contiguous and immediately precede *a*, *d*.

63. A. B. West and B. D. Meritt have added⁶⁷ a fresh fragment to the reassessment-list of 425/4, in which Meritt has further proposed⁶⁸ an attractive restoration of ll. 125-30. Elsewhere⁶⁹ he has restored ll. 117, 130, 162 and has claimed for this assessment a considerable portion of i.² 64, viz. fragments *t*, *u*, *v*, *w*, *x*, *y* and i.¹ 543 (= i.² 64, ll. 89-92).

64. Meritt has proposed⁷⁰ slight modifications in ll. 27, 80, 96. See also 63 above. He and West have discussed⁷¹ the significance of this assessment-list, which they assign to 421 B.C., as pointing to Cleon's 'adoption of the Periclean platform of imperial defence in a successful eleventh-hour attempt to re-establish his shattered prestige' after the failure of his previous policy of chauvinistic im-

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* 28 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 2.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.* 7 ff., Pls. II, III; *S.E.G.* iii. 3.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* 3 ff., Pl. I; *S.E.G.* iii. 5.

⁵⁹ *J.H.S.* xlv. 246 ff.

⁶⁰ *Göt. Nachr.* 1921, 62 ff.

⁶¹ *J.H.S.* xiv. 243 ff.

⁶² *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 118, 151. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 8.

⁶³ *Op. cit.* 19, 132; *S.E.G.* iii. 9.

⁶⁴ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 440 ff.

⁶⁵ *Jahreshefte*, xxi. (b). 156 ff.

⁶⁶ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 177 ff.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 149.

⁶⁸ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. (Studies in the Athenian Tribute-Lists, 1920), 26 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 11.

⁶⁹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 321 f., xxx. 149.

⁷⁰ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 322.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 50 ff.

perialism, and West has argued ⁷² that in this re-assessment and the subsequent quota-lists (l.² 220, 221, 224) we have indications of a considerable reduction of the assessment of 425, 'bringing the total estimated tribute to a sum possibly a third higher than it had been in the days before the war,' and so giving to the allies their share in the blessings of peace by a practical restoration of the Aristidean tribute.

65. See a note by Wilhelm on l. 18 in *Glotta*, xiv, 75.

71. The treaty between Athens and Perdiceas of Macedon has been carefully investigated both by J. J. E. Hondius and by P. H. Davis. The former offers ⁷³ a much fuller restoration of ll. 15-43, in lines of 77 letters apiece, ⁷⁴ than that attempted in *I.G.* i.² The latter proposes ⁷⁵ a restoration, in lines of 68 letters, shows that fragments *f* and *b* are contiguous, adds an unpublished fragment and suggests that *b*, and *d* may belong to some other decree regulating Attico-Macedonian relations.

77. The Athenian rules regarding the qualification for *αἵρεσις* in the Prytaneum have been closely examined ⁷⁶ by E. Premer.

88. Hondius quotes ⁷⁷ a restoration of ll. 20, 21 due to F. von Hiller.

90. B. D. Meritt argues ⁷⁸ in favour of 422 as the date of the alliance between Athens and the Bottiaeans.

91, 92. W. Bannier has discussed ⁷⁹ at considerable length the decree of Callias, which was, in his opinion, proposed in 431 B.C. by Callias son of Hipponicus. The decree on the reverse of the stone, portions of which he attempts to restore, is assigned to about 429/8 B.C.

102. See No. 50.

105. A. Wilhelm has restored ⁸⁰ a decree of 411/10 B.C., which, after dealing with a naval expedition, ends with compliments and privileges bestowed on King Archelaus of Macedon. The first part of this decree is currently, but erroneously, held to refer to the Athenian fleet sent to Lesbos in 428 B.C. (Hicks-Hill, 58).

106. He has further shown ⁸¹ that six fragments, one of which was previously unpublished, belong to a decree prompted by services rendered to Athens in the Ionian War by certain metics.

109. W. S. Ferguson has conjectured ⁸² 'Οἱ[*πορεύς*] in l. 2, since otherwise the secretary would be a member of the prytany-tribe.

114. See above under 49.

181. W. Bannier has pointed out ⁸³ that we have here an earlier and better reading of 363 P, a fragment of the Propylaea accounts.

191 ff. In a remarkable series of articles A. B. West and B. D. Meritt have published the outcome of their prolonged and patient investigations into the Athenian tribute quota-lists. So close has been the co-operation of these two

⁷² *Ibid.* 135 B.

⁷³ *Op. cit.* 22 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 14.

⁷⁴ *Cf. Jahreshefte*, xxi./ii. 131.

⁷⁵ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 179 ff.

⁷⁶ *Hermes*, lxi. 470 ff.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.* 79; *S.E.G.* iii. 15.

⁷⁸ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 29 ff.

⁷⁹ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxv. 184 ff.

⁸⁰ *Jahreshefte*, xxi./ii. 123 ff.

⁸¹ *Jahreshefte*, xxi./ii. 152 ff.

⁸² *Class. Phil.* xxi. 74.

⁸³ *Phil. Woch.* xiv. 862; *S.E.G.* iii. 22.

scholars that it would be a fruitless task, even were it possible, to distinguish their respective contributions to the joint result, which constitutes one of the most noteworthy achievements of epigraphical study. So far their labours have been devoted mainly to the establishment of a trustworthy text of these invaluable records; when that task has been accomplished, we may hope that they will give us a comprehensive discussion of the significance of the documents regarded as historical materials. Four of Meritt's articles contributed originally to the *American Journal of Archaeology*⁸⁴ have been reprinted, with slight corrections, as a doctoral dissertation.⁸⁵ One of these⁸⁶ contains a careful re-examination of the evidence for assessment-periods during the years 454/3-440/39 B.C., in which the hitherto neglected criterion of the spelling of the tributary communities plays an important rôle: the result is to show that general reassessments occurred in 450/49, 446/5 and 443/2. In another article⁸⁷ Meritt marshals the evidence which proves that a new assessment came into force in 438/7 B.C. Elsewhere West, in discussing the Athenian decrees relating to Methone, maintains⁸⁸ that 430 B.C. witnessed a fresh assessment. To record in detail the numerous corrections and readjustments advocated, usually with convincing cogency, by these scholars⁸⁹ would unduly prolong this survey: additions have been made⁹⁰ to i.² 196, 202, 203, 205, while a fragment, published by Hondius⁹¹ and assigned by him and in i.² 197 to the list for 448/7, has been shown⁹² to belong rather to that for 450/49 (i.² 195). So far as the first stele, which contains the first fifteen annual lists, is concerned, West and Meritt have summed up the results of their investigations and have given us (a) a facsimile of the extant fragments and (b) a revised and restored text of each list.

Date.	Reference in I.G. i. ²	Facsimile and Revised Text.
454/3	191	<i>Am. Journ. Phil.</i> xlvii. 171 ff.
453/2	192	<i>Harvard Studies</i> , xxxvii. 59 ff.
452/1	193	<i>Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.</i> lvi. 252 ff.
451/0	194	" " 253 ff.
450/49	195	<i>Harvard Studies</i> , xxxvii. 63 ff., 67 ff.
449/8	196	" " 83 ff., 92 ff.
448/7	197	" " 81 ff.
447/6	198	" " 86, 89 ff.
446/5	199	" " 75 ff.
445/4	200	" " 79 ff.
444/3	201	<i>Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.</i> lvi. 256 ff.
443/2	202	<i>Harvard Studies</i> , xxxvii. 71 ff.
442/1	203	" " 83 ff., 95 f.
441/0	204	" " 56 ff., 61 ff.
440/39	205	" " 83 ff., 96 f.

⁸⁴ xxix. 26 ff., 247 ff., 292 ff., 445 ff.

⁸⁵ *Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists*, Princeton, 1926. Cf. *Phil. Week.* xlvii. 717 ff.

⁸⁶ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 247 ff.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 292 ff.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 440 ff.

⁸⁹ Besides the other articles cited in this paragraph see *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 322 ff., xxx. 189 f. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 23 ff.

⁹⁰ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 137 ff.

⁹¹ *Op. cit.* 108 ff., Pl. VIII.

⁹² *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 265, xxx. 147 f. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 24.

Of the eight lists engraved on the second stele West and Meritt have not yet given similar revised texts, but they have reconstituted the stone as follows:—

Date.	Text.	Discussion.
439/8	<i>I.G.</i> i. ² 206+208a+211a	<i>Am. Journ. Arch.</i> xxix. 295 ff. <i>Cl. S.E.G.</i> iii. 26.
438/7	<i>I.G.</i> i. ² 207+208	" " 180 ff., 295.
437/6	Frq. 11 (see <i>I.G.</i> i. ² p. 128)	" " "
436/5	<i>I.G.</i> i. ² 209	" " "
435/4	<i>I.G.</i> i. ² 210+ <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxxviii. 232	<i>Am. Journ. Arch.</i> xxix. 184 ff., <i>Class. Phil.</i> xxi. 254.
434/3	<i>I.G.</i> i. ² 211 minus <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xxxviii. 232	" " " " "
433/2	<i>I.G.</i> i. ² 212	" " 183 f., <i>Class. Phil.</i> xxi. 253.
432/1	<i>I.G.</i> i. ² 213	" " 180 ff., 445 f., <i>Class. Phil.</i> xxi. 250 ff.

The problems which confront us become even more difficult during the period of the Peloponnesian War, but here also West and Meritt have accomplished valuable work. Several restorations have been proposed⁹³ in i.² 216, which is assigned⁹⁴ to the year 430/29, while i.² 218 is dated in 426/5 B.C. Elsewhere⁹⁵ i.² 220, the list for 421/0, is shown to have been engraved in three columns and is reconstructed so far as the extant fragments allow, and its historical significance is examined with reference to the assessment list on the basis of which tribute was levied in this year.⁹⁶ Similarly i.² 222 and 223 are attributed⁹⁷ to years preceding 425, i.² 221 to 420/19–418/7 and i.² 224 to a date later than 421.

302. A. B. West has restored⁹⁸ ll. 35–48, which record the payments made in 416/5 B.C. for the great Sicilian expedition, and has in this connexion ably assailed the current view, propounded by B. Keil, that the Athenian βουλή did not normally enter office on the first day of the Athenian year.

312, 318. Hondius has made suggestions⁹⁹ regarding these Eleusinian traditions.

339–53. The Parthenon accounts serve as A. Rumpf's main evidence in discussing¹⁰⁰ the date of the pedimental sculptures of that temple, which he assigns to 437–433 B.C.

358, 363, 368, 371. W. Bannier suggests¹⁰¹ minor improvements in the restoration of these public accounts.

374. P. de la Coste-Messelière offers¹⁰² some criticisms of Dinsmoor's reconstruction of the Erechtheum accounts for 408/7 B.C., corrects the reading in some places and proposes an alternative arrangement of the fragments.

⁹³ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 434 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 29.

⁹⁴ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 443.

⁹⁵ *Aex. Ep.* 1924, 41 ff.

⁹⁶ *I.G.* i.² 93, for which see above.

⁹⁷ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 144 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 31.

⁹⁸ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 3 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 34.

⁹⁹ *Op. cit.* 94 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 36, 37.

¹⁰⁰ *Jahrb.* xl. 29 ff.

¹⁰¹ *Phil. Woch.* xiv. 862 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 38 ff.

¹⁰² *B.C.H.* xlviii. 323 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 42.

381, 382, 389. Restorations have been proposed¹⁰² by W. Bannier.

386, 387. Hondius has published¹⁰⁴ with an ample commentary and a fuller restoration than that found in *I.G.*, these two fragments of a stele containing an inventory of the sacred property of Artemis Brauronia.

463. E. H. Smit and P. Moens have essayed¹⁰⁵ not very convincingly, to restore and explain this archaic dedication.

733. W. Bannier sees¹⁰⁶ in this fragment the prescript of an honorary decree.

847. Hondius has published¹⁰⁷ fragment *b* of this inscription, which, he thinks, contains a list of cleruchs or diaetetae dating from about 410 B.C.

853, 939. He believes¹⁰⁸ that these are portions of the same casualty-list, perhaps of those who fell at Cyprian Salamis in 449 B.C.

919. F. J. M. De Waele has further discussed¹⁰⁹ the word *δεκάν*, which occurs in the received reading of this the oldest Attic inscription.

968. Hondius has published¹¹⁰ this fragment of a casualty-list.

983. S. Casson's article¹¹¹ on the recently discovered bases contains a photograph of the inscription of Endoeus.

1012. C. D. Buck has drawn attention¹¹² to the form of the *digamma* used in this, one of two Attic inscriptions in which that letter occurs.

1028. Hondius has published¹¹³ seven fifth-century epitaphs of aliens found near the Sacred Way, not far from the Ceramicus.

A. Wilhelm has discussed¹¹⁴ the decree passed in honour of Pythophanes of Carystus in 411/10 B.C. (i.² p. 297 = ii.² 12), and W. S. Ferguson has cited¹¹⁵ it as important evidence for the view that the constitution actually in force between the fall of the Four Hundred in autumn 411 and the return of full democracy in 410 was that described in *Aθ. Πολ.* 30.

W. Bannier maintains¹¹⁶ that *I.G.* ii.² 164 belongs to the fifth century and should therefore be added to *I.G.* i.²

[*I.G.* ii.] *From 403 to 31 B.C.*—Among the new inscriptions assignable to this period several are of unusual interest. Hondius has published¹¹⁷ with an excellent commentary a fragmentary decree of the fourth century in honour of a Pellenian, a decree of 307/6 B.C. praising three Pricnians, part of an inventory of sacred properties in the Parthenon about 400, two fresh fragments of a similar list (*I.G.* ii.² 1395) of 395/4, an inventory of objects in the *δεξαλός νεός*¹¹⁸ between 374 and 367, a fragmentary *traditio*¹¹⁹ of the contents of the Chalcotheca, a votive inscription¹²⁰ and a broken list, probably of diaetetae,

¹⁰² *Phil. Week.* xlv. 862 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 43.

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.* 62 ff., Pls. IV-VI; *S.E.G.* iii. 44.

¹⁰⁴ *Mnemosyne*, liii. 415 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 46.

¹⁰⁵ *Phil. Week.* xlv. 861; *S.E.G.* iii. 47.

¹⁰⁶ *Op. cit.* 119 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 49.

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.* 119; *S.E.G.* iii. 50.

¹⁰⁸ *Musée Belge*, xxviii. 52.

¹⁰⁹ *Op. cit.* 117 f., Pl. VIII; *S.E.G.* iii. 54.

¹¹⁰ *J.H.S.* xlv. 164 ff. Cf. Van Hook, *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 283 ff.; L. Gründel,

Arch. Anz. xl. 80 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 53.

¹¹¹ *Class. Phil.* xx. 140.

¹¹² *Op. cit.* 126 ff., Nos. 1-5, 5, 7, 12, 13.

¹¹³ *Jahreshefte*, xxi./ii. 147 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 71.

¹¹⁴ *Class. Phil.* xxi. 72 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Phil. Week.* xlv. 661, *S.E.G.* iii. 79.

¹¹⁶ *Op. cit.* 34 ff., *S.E.G.* iii. 83, 86, 131 ff.

¹¹⁷ *Cl. op. cit.* 76 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Op. cit.* 85 ff., *S.E.G.* iii. 135.

¹¹⁹ *Op. cit.* 112 ff., *S.E.G.* iii. 142.

belonging to the fourth century, and a group¹²¹ of forty-seven epitaphs of Athenian citizens, of which the majority fall within this period, though a few are later, and nine of aliens buried at Athens. To H. Fränkel¹²² we owe a curious Salaminian list of agricultural tasks let out on contract and a navy-list of 335-330 B.C., in the light of which the editor restores a similar document, of about 370; to H. Möbius¹²³ an interesting group of fourth-century decrees of the deme Tithras relative to the leasing of public property and the services of the demarch, as well as two fragmentary epitaphs of Paeania; to K. Kourouniotes¹²⁴ two new fragments of a third-century list of contracts and two other texts; to C. I. Karouzos¹²⁵ a series of records from the Heracleum of Cynosarges comprising a decree of the tribe Antiochia, dated 303/2 B.C., a decree of the foot-soldiers of the tribe in honour of a taxiarch and a decree, also of the fourth century, passed by the tribal cavalry squadron in praise of its commanding officer. A fragment from Rhamnus,¹²⁶ an Eleusinian dedication to Dionysus *παπαρίζων*,¹²⁷ an altar erected to Amphiaraus and Hygiea,¹²⁸ a fourth-century stele now in New York,¹²⁹ and two epitaphs,¹³⁰ one of them metrical, in the Cleveland Museum complete the list.¹³¹

W. Bannier has suggested¹³² restorations, some of them untenable, of various published decrees (*I.G.* ii.² 24, 43, 51, 403); S. Luria has discussed¹³³ the regulations binding on the cleruchs sent to Lemnos (ii.² 30); H. Babes has subjected to a very careful scrutiny¹³⁴ the Athenian law of 353/2 B.C. relative to the payment of *ἀπαρχαί* to Eleusis (ii.² 140), and R. J. Walker has attacked¹³⁵ the problem of the book-catalogue of the Piræus (ii. 992) with boldness and ingenuity, but with very questionable success. But it is to the astonishing acumen, industry and knowledge of A. Wilhelm that we owe in this field our greatest debt. In one article¹³⁶ he has given us a discussion and restoration of the decree (which he regards as the famous measure passed by Archinus) rewarding the metics who in 403 B.C. assisted in the restoration of Athenian democracy (ii.² 10), as well as of a group of three decrees (ii.² 12) published in 399/8,¹³⁷ while in another¹³⁸ he restores the preamble of a decree of 357/6 (ii.² 125) making provision for the safety of Euboea. Above all, in the third instalment of his *Attische Urkunden*¹³⁹ he has thrown new light on

¹²¹ *Op. cit.* 121 ff., *S.E.G.* iii. 159 ff.

¹²² *Ath. Mitt.* xlviii. 1 ff., *S.E.G.* iii. 137 f.

¹²³ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 1 ff.

¹²⁴ *Apex. Dechr.* viii. 161, 171, 270, *S.E.G.* iii. 147, 150, 247.

¹²⁵ *Apex. Dechr.* viii. 85 ff., *S.E.G.* iii. 115 ff. *Cl. Riv. Phil.* kv. 222 f.; Buloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 2. 600.

¹²⁶ *B.O.H.* xlviii. 319; *S.E.G.* iii. 151.

¹²⁷ *Apex. Dechr.* viii. 171.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 52 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 148.

¹²⁹ *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxi. 128.

¹³⁰ *Bull. Cleveland Mus.* xii. 58 ff., xiii. 54, 59.

¹³¹ *Ct. B.O.H.* xlix. 441; *Bull. Comm. Arch.* liii. 214, No. 32.

¹³² *Phil. Week.* xlv. 463 f., 861 ff.; *S.E.G.*

iii. 72, 74 f., 85.

¹³³ *C.R. Acad. Sci. Russ.* 1924, 130 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 73.

¹³⁴ *Das klassische Zehntengesetz vom Jahre 353/2*, Glosien, 1924. *Cl. Phil. Week.* xvi. 93 ff.; *Gnomon*, iii. 175 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 78.

¹³⁵ *Parnassus Biceps*, Paris, 1926. *Cl. Class. Rev.* xl. 215.

¹³⁶ *Jahreshefte*, xxi./ii. 159 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 70 (cf. 71).

¹³⁷ See footnote 114.

¹³⁸ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 155; *S.E.G.* iii. 77.

¹³⁹ *Sitzb. Wien.* coil. 5. *Cl. Phil. Week.* xlvii. 681 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 89-103, 119, 122-6, 145, 156 f.

a large number of texts, mostly decrees in *I.G.* ii.², restoring, dating, uniting sundered fragments and indicating the historical significance of the documents in question.

Of other articles ¹⁴⁰ considerations of space preclude individual mention.

[*I.G.* iii.] *The Roman Imperial Period*—The new inscriptions belonging to this period are few in number and of no outstanding importance. A. Wilhelm has published ¹⁴¹ a sadly mutilated fragment of a document relating to the Epicurean School at Athens; A. D. Nock ¹⁴² two metrical epitaphs; G. Meliades ¹⁴³ a dedication to Asclepius and Amphiaras, and J. J. E. Hondius ¹⁴⁴ a group of epitaphs of Athenian citizens, to which reference has been made above. Otherwise there is nothing of note to report.¹⁴⁵

III. THE PELOPONNES

[*I.G.* iv.] Few new discoveries call for mention. An archaic bronze hydria from AEGINA, bearing a dedication to 'Ελλάδιος Ζεὺς and helping to identify the site of his temple, has been mentioned ¹⁴⁶ by P. Wolters and published ¹⁴⁷ by J. P. Harland. At CORINTH the American excavators have unearthed an honorary inscription ¹⁴⁸ of the second century A.D., a graffito and an inscribed sherd of Corinthian pottery,¹⁴⁹ while at Nemea they have discovered a fragment of the temple accounts.¹⁵⁰ A. J. B. Wace's report on the work carried on at MYCENAE by the British School at Athens describes ¹⁵¹ a number of small objects, such as tiles and loom-weights, found there, and U. A. Boethius in his account of Hellenistic Mycenae publishes ¹⁵² three fragments of a decree of the Argive *κῆμα* of Mycenae dating from the early years of the second century B.C., and uses it to restore ¹⁵³ a similar text already known (*I.G.* iv. 497). A metrical dedication from ARGOS, copied by C. Curtius and published ¹⁵⁴ by E. Preuner, and a fragmentary grave-epigram of the third century B.C. found there by H. Möbius ¹⁵⁵ close the list.

E. Preuner has adduced ¹⁵⁶ some valuable evidence, based on old papers of Mystoxides, Velsen and others, for determining the provenance of the inscriptions collected in Aegina early in the nineteenth century. A. Wilhelm has supplied ¹⁴⁷ a convincing emendation of a well-known text of Methana

¹³⁹ *Arch. Anz.* xli. 276 f.; *Apex. Ep.* 1923, 53 ff., 188; *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 12 f.; *B.C.H.* xlix. 481; *Hermes*, lxi. 281; *Isis et Ros. Akad. Intern. Mus. Kult.* iv. 94 ff.; *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 151.

¹⁴⁰ *Sitzb. Wien. acad.* 5. 61 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 226.

¹⁴¹ *J.H.S.* xlv. 44 ff.

¹⁴² *Apex. Anz.* viii. 52 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 149.

¹⁴³ *Op. cit.* 121 ff.

¹⁴⁴ *Cl. Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 222; *B.C.H.* xlviii. 457; *Abh.* xxxv. 182, 185.

¹⁴⁵ *Arch. Anz.* xl. 11. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 310.

¹⁴⁶ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxix. 76 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *O. Bronceer. Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 52.

¹⁴⁸ T. L. Shear, *ibid.* 448, 453.

¹⁴⁹ C. W. Blegen, *Art and Archaeology*, xxi. 132. Cf. xix. 181. For Philia see *ibid.* xx. 26 f.

¹⁵⁰ *B.S.A.* xxv. 11, 37, 71, 79, 102, 200, 337.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 408 ff.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 414, note 1.

¹⁵³ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 117 f. See 118 (on *I.O.* iv. 623, 624).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 14 f. Cf. *Class. Phil.* xx. 141.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 103 ff., 117, 134.

¹⁵⁶ *Glotta*, xiv. 78 ff.

(*I.G.* iv. 858), and K. A. Neugebauer's essay ¹⁴³ on the activity of the sculptor Timotheus at Epidaurus makes constant use of the building-accounts of the temple of Asclepius (*ibid.* 1484). E. Preuner has discussed ¹⁴⁴ one of the healing-records and has proposed an improved restoration (*ibid.* 951, 9 ff.); O. Herzog has suggested ¹⁴⁵ two emendations in another similar record (*ibid.* 952, 69 ff.; cf. *Apχ. Ep.* 1918, 155 ff.), and W. A. Jayne has made some use of these documents for his chapter ¹⁴⁶ on divine healing in the Greek world. The controversy which raged round the text, date and nature of the constitutional document found at Epidaurus (see *J.H.S.* xlv. 112 f.) has subsided, but M. A. Levi ¹⁴⁷ has subjected its provisions to a careful examination, and J. A. O. Larsen has made full use of this evidence in his discussion ¹⁴⁸ of the somewhat wider question of representative government in the Panhellenic leagues.

[*I.G.* v.] A. M. Woodward has published, with a very full and detailed commentary, the epigraphical results of the excavations carried on under his direction at SPARTA in 1924-25. The eastern parodos-wall of the Theatre, faced with marble blocks, was almost entirely covered with inscriptions for a distance of some fifteen metres: some of these blocks are still *in situ*, others had fallen from the wall and were discovered near it in a more or less fragmentary condition. The texts so preserved ¹⁴⁹ apparently belong, with few if any exceptions, to the first half of the second century A.D., and comprise thirty lists of magistrates, the *cursus honorum* of eight distinguished Spartans, five commemorations of single magistracies and eight fragments too mutilated for classification. Of the similar records which presumably covered the western parodos-wall only three fragments have been found, ¹⁵⁰ while one *cursus honorum* and four lists of *πομοφύλακες* are inscribed on the blocks forming the inner side of the water-channel which skirts the orchestra. ¹⁵¹ Among the remaining twenty-two inscriptions ¹⁵² from the Theatre, the most interesting are a fragmentary bronze tablet (No. 12) registering payments made, as prizes or otherwise, in connexion with a festival, which may be that of the Euryelea or the Urania, and a record of the building activities at Sparta of P. Ampelius, proconsul of Achaia in A.D. 359 (No. 20). The texts from other sites ¹⁵³ include a perfectly preserved fourth-century dedication and several archaic votive inscriptions.

M. N. Tod has attempted ¹⁵⁴ briefly to survey the progress made in the study of Laconian inscriptions from 1913, the date of the publication of *I.G.* v. 1, to the close of 1925, summarising the texts published for the first time during that period, and bringing up to date the bibliographies of individual inscriptions contained in the Laconian section of *I.G.* v. 1. C. D. Buck has proposed ¹⁵⁵ a new reading in the Spartan Damonon-stele (*I.G.* v. 1. 213); L.

¹⁴³ *Jahrb.* xli. 82 ff.

¹⁴⁴ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxiv. 231 f.

¹⁴⁵ *Arch. Rel.* xxiv. 173.

¹⁴⁶ *The Healing Gods of Ancient Greece*: Yale U.P., 1925, p. 199 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Atti Torino*, lix. 215 ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Class. Phil.* xx. 313 ff., xxi. 52 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *B.S.A.* xxvi. 159 ff.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 174, 190 f.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 200 ff.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 205 ff., Nos. 3-24.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 233 ff., Nos. 25-30, 270 ff., 289 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 196 ff.

¹⁵⁵ *Class. Phil.* xx. 139 f.

Robert has restored ¹⁷¹ a passage in a decree of Geronthrae (*ibid.* 1111), and the mystery-cult at Andania, for which an inscription (*ibid.* 1390) affords one of the main evidences, forms the subject of a detailed examination ¹⁷² by L. Ziehen, who in a separate article ¹⁷³ discusses and rejects the view of the development of the cult propounded ¹⁷⁴ by G. Pasquali.

Of ARCADIA there is little to record. C. M. Bowra has devoted an interesting article ¹⁷⁵ to the Homeric words and usages which recur in Arcadian inscriptions. C. D. Buck has discussed ¹⁷⁶ the text and the dialect of the Xuthias-inscription (*I.G.* v. 2. 159), to the interpretation of which W. Vollgraff has also made a contribution,¹⁷⁷ and also ¹⁷⁸ the Mantinean judgment (*ibid.* 262); E. Preuner has appealed ¹⁷⁹ to a Tegean honorary inscription (*ibid.* 118) to determine the nature of Chaerephon's drama *Achilles*; E. Weiss has re-examined ¹⁸⁰ from the juridical standpoint a valuable law of Stymphalus (*ibid.* 337), and A. Wilhelm ¹⁸¹ and L. Robert ¹⁸² have suggested minor improvements in the text of an important decree of Cleitor (*ibid.* 367).

[*I.G.* vi.] E. Preuner publishes ¹⁸³ from Velsen's diary a fragment of a dedication set up at Aegium by a victorious athlete, and W. Bannier proposes ¹⁸⁴ restorations of two inscriptions of Olympia (*Inscr. v. Ol.* 24, 271).

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[*I.G.* vii.] Three inscriptions, copied in 1873 at Aegosthena in the MEGARID,¹⁸⁵ have been published ¹⁸⁶ by U. von Wilamowitz: one of these gives a full text of *I.G.* vii. 227, and the remaining two are Hellenistic epitaphs. B. Leonardos, the indefatigable investigator of the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropus, has given ¹⁸⁷ us amply commentated texts of (a) a fourth-century document containing a decree relative to the repair of a spring followed by a long and well-preserved specification and contract, (b) two insignificant fragments of like character, and (c) a detailed specification of work to be executed on the outflow (*ἐκπορεύς*) of a water-channel, similar to and somewhat later in date than *S.I.G.* 973. He has also reconstituted a list of the victorious competitors at the festival of Amphiaraus by combining *I.G.* vii. 414 and ii. 978 b and a second document of the same kind by the union of *I.G.* vii. 415 and 417, and has corrected, completed or commented upon a number of inscriptions of the same provenance previously published.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷¹ *Rev. Et. Gr.* xxxvii. 180 f.

¹⁷² *Arch. Rel.* xxiv. 29 ff.

¹⁷³ *Hermes*, lx. 338 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *Atti Torino*, xlviii. 94 ff. Cf. O. Contz, *Hermes*, lxi. 204 f.

¹⁷⁵ *Class. Qu.* xx. 168 ff.

¹⁷⁶ *Class. Phil.* xx. 152 ff.

¹⁷⁷ *Mnemosyne*, lili. 208.

¹⁷⁸ *Class. Phil.* xx. 136 ff.

¹⁷⁹ *Hermes*, lxi. 239 f. Cf. *Abh. Mitt.* xlix. 118.

¹⁸⁰ *Zts. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, Rom. Abt.

xlvi. 169 ff.

¹⁸¹ *Wiener Studien*, xlii. 159.

¹⁸² *B.O.H.* xlix. 227 f.

¹⁸³ *Abh. Mitt.* xlix. 118 f.

¹⁸⁴ *Phil. Week.* xlvii. 541 f. Cf. *Glotta*, xiv. 90.

¹⁸⁵ For the Megarid cf. *Abh. Mitt.* xlix. 119 ff.

¹⁸⁶ *Hermes*, lx. 315; *S.E.G.* iii. 330 ff.

¹⁸⁷ *Apy. Ep.* 1023, 36 ff.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 51, 168 f. Cf. E. Preuner, *Abh. Mitt.* xlix. 121 ff.

Important additions to the inscriptions of BOEOTIA have been made by N. G. Pappadakis. These include an interesting third-century text¹⁸⁹ from Thisbe recording an agreement between the states of Thisbe and Chorsiae relative to the repayment of a debt owed by the latter to the former, two documents from Acraephia referring to the partial remission of debts due from the state to private persons,¹⁹⁰ a list of contributors to some public purpose together with a fragmentary decree in their honour,¹⁹¹ eleven lists of *στρατεύοιμοι* from Acraephia, Thisbe and Orchomenus, a complete Thespian list¹⁹² of the same kind dating from the late fourth or early third century B.C., from which the editor draws interesting conclusions about the population of Thespieae at that period, eight proxeny-decrees and two records of victories in the Pamboeotia from Thisbe, and two valuable lists of successful competitors in the Lebadean Basilea, to one of which is added a curious memorandum by an *ἀγωνοθέτης* protesting against the conduct of his predecessor. Pappadakis has also, in the course of his article, corrected or restored several published texts of Orchomenus, Acraephia and Lebadea.¹⁹³ G. De Sanctis has discussed¹⁹⁴ the above-mentioned *ὁμολογία* between Thisbe and Chorsiae, as well as the famous agreement between Nicareta and Orchomenus (*I.G.* vii. 3172), which he examines¹⁹⁵ minutely with a view to determining the precise circumstances therein recorded, and so the juristic definition of the case, which he regards as a true *obligatio litcrarum*. The same document has figured prominently in the polemic on the subject of the literal contract in Greek jurisprudence waged between P. Vinogradoff¹⁹⁶ and F. Brandileone.¹⁹⁷ E. Premer has contributed¹⁹⁸ from old notes and copies a number of valuable comments on published Boeotian tomb-inscriptions, has added a previously unpublished epitaph from Eleon and has examined in detail texts from Orchomenus (*I.G.* vii. 3191-2) and the Πτόον (*B.C.H.* xlv. 242). T. Kalén has devoted a long article¹⁹⁹ to the numerous hypocoristic Boeotian proper names ending in *ε(ς)*.

[*I.G.* viii.] A considerable number of inscriptions from DELPHI have been recently published for the first time or in a more correct form. Among them are a new signature of the sculptor Ergotimus²⁰⁰ from Marmaria and an *alabastron* signed by Paaiades²⁰¹ from the eastern necropolis, both published by R. Demangel. To P. de la Coste-Messelière we owe a series of twelve decrees²⁰² in honour of Pellenians, mostly of the late fourth or early third century B.C., the positions and scripts of which suggest some modifications in the usually accepted table of Delphian archons, as well as twenty-five inscrip-

¹⁸⁹ *Apx. Δελρ.* viii. 182 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 242.

¹⁹⁰ *Apx. Δελρ.* viii. 180 ff.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* 196 ff., 257 f.; *S.E.G.* iii. 357 f.

¹⁹² *Apx. Δελρ.* viii. 218 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 333.

¹⁹³ Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 340.

¹⁹⁴ *Ric. Fil.* liv. 279 C.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 78 ff.

¹⁹⁶ *Outlines of Hist. Jurisprudence*, ii.

241 ff.; *Rendiconti d. Lincol.* xxxiii. 89 ff.

¹⁹⁷ *Rendiconti d. Ist. di Bologna*, II. iv.

88 ff.; *Rendiconti d. Lincol.* xxxii. 103 ff.

¹⁹⁸ *Atk. Mid.* xlix. 123 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Eranoz*, xxii. 67 ff.

²⁰⁰ *B.C.H.* xviii. 321 f.

²⁰¹ *Monumenti Piot.* xxvii. 67 ff.

²⁰² *B.C.H.* xlix. 61 ff., 482.

tions, including artists' signatures, manumission-records, proxeny-decrees, etc., discovered in the course of the excavation of the western portico, constructed not much later than 250 B.C. E. Bourguet in a long and important article²⁰³ attacks the presentation of the Delphian texts by Pomtow in *S.I.G.*² and in his essay on Delphian topography in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll (Suppl. iv. 1189 ff.), and publishes a group of documents, among which are proxeny-decrees and similar texts; two epigrams of the early third century commemorating victories in the Pythian games, two signatures of the sculptor Ergophilus and several financial records, two of which contain lists of hieromnemones. P. Roussel's survey²⁰⁴ of the work recently carried on at Delphi by the French School at Athens gives some account of the progress made in the epigraphical field. In an essay²⁰⁵ on the origin and meaning of the Delphian E, W. N. Bates discusses the omphalos-inscription and maintains that the E was originally a Minoan character, which came to Delphi from Crete as an attribute of the goddess Ge. The vexed question of Delphian chronology in the third century is dealt with²⁰⁶ in G. Klaffenbach's article summarised below, and by K. J. Beloch,²⁰⁷ who emphasises the value of the hieromnemon-lists for the dating of the third-century archons, condemns the methods and the results of Pomtow and claims that in the end Pomtow was constrained to accept the chronology advocated by Beloch, though unfortunately not until after the appearance of *S.I.G.*², in which the Delphian texts are dated on the erroneous system. He also criticises Roussel's method, while fully admitting that scholar's eminent services to Delphian epigraphy, and compiles an archon-list extending from 278 to 264 B.C. W. Vollgraf has continued²⁰⁸ his full and illuminating discussion of the Paean to Dionysus; O. Weinreich has examined²⁰⁹ a metrical miracle-inscription, somewhat similar to the Epidaurian records of cures but unique among Delphian epigraphical texts; C. D. Buck²¹⁰ and L. Weber²¹¹ have dealt with the famous archaic inscription of Cleobis and Biton (*S.I.G.*² 5); G. De Sanctis has shown²¹² the historical significance of a grant of Aetolian citizenship to the inhabitants of a Heraclaea (*S.E.G.* ii. 257), which he identifies with Heraclaea Pontica or Heraclaea ad Latium; E. Bourguet has discussed²¹³ a puzzling passage in the Labyadae-inscription (*S.I.G.*² 438); P. de la Coste-Messelière has provided a new text,²¹⁴ as copied by Bourguet, of the document relating to the frontier between Xynia and Melitea (*S.I.G.*² 546 A); G. Klaffenbach has dealt²¹⁵ with the records of the dispute between Thronium and Scarphea; Ernst Meyer has discussed²¹⁶ the epigraphical and other evidence for the *stemma* of the Attalids with special reference to a Delphian honorary decree,²¹⁷ and A. Wilhelm has, in the course of his investigation of two passages

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 21 ff., 481 f.

²⁰⁴ *Rev. Arch.*, xii. (1925), 57 ff.

²⁰⁵ *Am. Journ. Arch.*, xxix. 239 ff.

²⁰⁶ *Klio*, xx. 76 ff.

²⁰⁷ *Rhe. Fd.*, lii. 192 ff.

²⁰⁸ *B.O.H.*, xlix. 194 ff.

²⁰⁹ *Heidelberg Sitzb.*, 1924/5, No. 7.

²¹⁰ *Class. Phil.*, xx. 139. For the treaty between Delphi and Pellene see *ibid.*, 142 ff.

²¹¹ *Philologus*, lxxvii. 160 f. Cf. *Phil.*

Woch., xlv. 423 ff.

²¹² *Bis. Fil.*, lili. 63 ff. Cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, iv. 2. 809.

²¹³ *B.O.H.*, xlix. 25 ff.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 99 ff.

²¹⁵ *Klio*, xx. 84 ff.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xix. 462 ff.

²¹⁷ *Rev. Et. Anc.*, xi. 9 ff.; *Hermes*, lv. 397 ff.

in Xenophon's *Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεία*, suggested ²¹⁸ several corrections or restorations of Delphian texts.

But the inscription which has aroused the keenest interest and the acutest controversy is the Roman law relative to measures against pirates. The discussion entered on a new stage with the publication of G. Colin's revised text (cf. *J.H.S.* xlv. 118), which must form the basis of all future study of the document, ²¹⁹ although some of his restorations and even a few of his readings may be challenged. ²²⁰ E. Cuq, who first championed the identification of this law with the celebrated Lex Gabinia of 67 B.C., has modified his original position to some extent: he no longer holds that the law before us is the actual *lex de imperio Pompeii*, but regards it as an extract from a second law, passed very shortly afterwards on the proposal of the same tribune Gabinus in order to facilitate the task of Pompey and to secure the success of his expedition. In one article ²²¹ Cuq attacks G. Colin's interpretation of the measure, denies that Cyrene became a province before Pompey's time and maintains that the attempt to date the law in 101 B.C. ignores the evidence afforded by the sanction (C 15-20) and by the phrase *ἐκτός τῆς συντάξεως* (B 18), which, Cuq urges, must refer to the Gabinian law *de senatu legatis dando*. Elsewhere ²²² he gives a careful analysis of the clauses of the law and restates his view of its object, character and date. Its sole object, he maintains, is to take effective measures against piracy and guarantee the security of maritime navigation; at this object it aims by a decisive intervention and not by general police measures, and that intervention belongs to the early part of 67 B.C.

This theory, however, has won no support. H. A. Ormerod, in a criticism of Cuq and of Cary, argues ²²³ that probability points to 100, or one of the immediately following years, as the date of the measure. G. De Sanctis admits ²²⁴ the strength of G. Colin's position. M. A. Levi, again, maintains his belief that the inscription is earlier than 96 B.C., though he criticises ²²⁵ some of Colin's restorations and interpretations and emphatically rejects the attribution of the law to the close of 101 B.C., holding that it deals exclusively with police measures to ensure the safety of the sea and cannot embody any project of granting to Marius an important command in the East. J. Colin has replied ²²⁶ at some length to the onslaught made by Cuq upon his previous article, ²²⁷ protesting against the misstatement of his conclusion, emphasising afresh the similarity of the steps taken in 74 and in 67 to cope with the scourge of piracy, and examining in detail the constitutional position of *imperia extraordinaria* under the Roman republic; he concludes that, though his own attribution of the measure to 74 B.C. is, like the theory of G. Colin, incapable of demonstration, the identification of the Delphian law with the Lex Gabinia

²¹⁸ *Wien. Stud.* xlv. 154 ff. The inscriptions are *S.E.G.* I. 170, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. 1. n. 288, III. 2. p. 104.

²¹⁹ Cf. S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* xx. (1924), 386.

²²⁰ Cf. T. Reinach, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1924, 282.

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²²¹ *Ibid.* 284 ff.

²²² *Rev. Hist. de Droit*, xv. (1925), 541 ff.

²²³ *Class. Rev.* xxxix. 15 f.

²²⁴ *Riv. Fil.* liv. 567. Cf. *ibid.* 601.

²²⁵ *Atti Torino*, ix. 354 ff.

²²⁶ *Rev. Arch.* xxi. (1925), 342 ff.

²²⁷ See *J.H.S.* xlv. 117.

may be unhesitatingly rejected. The two articles²²⁸ on the same subject by J. Dobias, being written in the Czech language, are unintelligible to me.

[I.G. ix.] The main object of G. Klaffenbach's essay²²⁹ on the history of Eastern LOCRIA is to prove, by literary and epigraphical evidence, that we must not identify, as all recent scholars have done, the Epicnemidian with the Hypocnemidian (or Opuntian) Locrians, and to draw the historical conclusions which follow from their due differentiation: for the purposes of this study he makes constant references to Locrian²³⁰ and to Delphian inscriptions. F. Courby and C. Picard have published²³¹ the results of their researches at Stratus in ACARNANIA: among these are nine new inscriptions, mostly sepulchral, and revised readings of several published texts, notably of I.G. ix. 1. 444, 447. M. Holleaux has edited²³² with masterly skill a text found at CORCYRA in 1912. On the side of a stele is a letter written by the praetor P. Cornelius Blasio between 187 and 160 B.C. to the Corcyraean magistrates and people, followed by the prescript of a *senatus consultum*, which apparently invited the Corcyraeans to act as arbitrators between the Athamanians and the Ambraciots: their award, a fragment of which has survived (*ibid.* 690), was engraved on the front of the same stone. C. A. Rhomaïos' account of the earliest excavations at Corfu includes²³³ some discussion of three published inscriptions of the island (*ibid.* 696, 698, 699).

Among the fruits of a journey²³⁴ made by G. Daux and P. de la Coste-Messelière in AENIS, MALIS and ACHAEA PHTHIOIS are six new inscriptions, including a dedication to the Nymphs from Hypata and a well-preserved and interesting decree of ca. 50 B.C. from Thaumaci, as well as notes on a considerable number of texts already published in I.G. ix. 2. L. Robert has proposed²³⁵ to emend a decree of the Aenianes found at Hypata (*ibid.* 8), and W. Bannier has grappled²³⁶ with two puzzling documents of Olizon in Magnesia (*ibid.* 1209, 1222). In the course of his excavations at Pherae, A. S. Arvanitopoulos found²³⁷ a signature of the sculptor Myron on a base unearthed in the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios. Elsewhere the same tireless researcher in the field of Thessalian epigraphy publishes²³⁸ thirteen inscriptions of Azorus and twenty-eight of Doliche, about half of them for the first time and the remainder in improved copies or with fuller restorations and commentaries.

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

[I.G. x.] In his report²³⁹ on the excavations which he has conducted at Edessa in MACEDONIA, S. Pelekides has revised the texts of several inscriptions recording the manumission of slaves by dedication to the goddess Ma, and

²²⁸ *Listy fil.* II. 13 ff., 94 ff., III. 65 ff.

²²⁹ *Klio*, xx. 68 ff.

²³⁰ *I.G.* ix. 1. 267, 269-276, 334.

²³¹ *Recherches Archéologiques à Stratus* (Paris, 1924), pp. 13, 84, 107 ff.

²³² *B.C.H.* xlviii. 381 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* liv. 179.

²³³ *B.C.H.* xlix. 206 ff.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* xlviii. 380 ff.; cf. xlix. 458.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* xlix. 221 ff.

²³⁶ *Phil. Week.* xlv. 542.

²³⁷ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 198.

²³⁸ *Apex. Ep.* 1923, 123 ff.

²³⁹ *Apex. Del.* viii. 265 ff.

has added one to their number; he has also published three marble stelae, one of which is dated A.D. 51, bearing votive inscriptions to Ζεύς ἑφύροτος. An interesting sixth-century gravestone from Thessalonica has been published²⁴⁰ by G. P. Oikonomos. A relief from the theatre at Philippi, erected by a priest of Nemesis and resembling two others recently published, has been described and discussed²⁴¹ by F. Chapouthier, and E. Michon has interpreted²⁴² a Philippian epitaph known²⁴³ since 1900. Otherwise there is little to note²⁴⁴ from the south-western district of THRACE. Of great value, on the other hand, is the article²⁴⁵ in which E. Kalinka publishes 114 inscriptions, the fruits of a journey to Viza (Bizye), Rodosto, Pando, Eregli (Perinthus) and other places in Eastern Thrace: twenty-four of these give improved versions of texts previously known, while the remainder are new and include some documents of considerable interest,²⁴⁶ as well as numerous sepulchral inscriptions of familiar types. The new discoveries made at Aquincum,²⁴⁷ at Sozopol²⁴⁸ and on other Bulgarian sites²⁴⁹ do not demand special notice with the exception of those from Nicopolis ad Istrum and Callatis. M. Britschkoff has published²⁵⁰ a group of thirty-five inscriptions from the former town, which was founded about A.D. 102 and was destroyed soon after the death of Severus: the majority are honorary inscriptions, hurriedly and often incorrectly engraved on rectangular blocks of stone, and commemorate Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Julia Domna and other Roman Emperors and Empresses, the most interesting containing a letter addressed to the city by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in A.D. 198 (No. 7).²⁵¹ O. Tafraji has appended²⁵² to an article on Callatis fifteen Greek inscriptions recently found on that site, of which the most valuable are (a) a decree of a *θίαιος* resolving to build a temple and laying down regulations for contributions to the work, to which is added a list of contributors of money or service, and (b) a decree passed by a *θίαιος* in honour of one of its members and benefactors; B. Haussoullier has suggested²⁵³ a number of convincing textual restorations and emendations relating to both these documents. Various inscribed monuments from different parts of Bulgaria have been illustrated and discussed by G. I. Kazarow in his article²⁵⁴ on the cult of the Thracian horseman-god in Bulgaria.

B. Latyshev's publication, either for the first time or in a corrected version, of fifteen inscriptions from SCYTHIA is known to me only from *S.E.G.* ii. 479-493: two of these are sepulchral epigrams, two building-records, two honorary inscriptions raised by private *σώφροες* and the remaining nine ordinary epitaphs. P. Nicorescu's report²⁵⁵ on the recent excavations at Tyras con-

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* vii. 343 ff.

²⁴¹ *B.C.H.* xlix. 239 ff.

²⁴² *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1924, 234 f.

²⁴³ *B.C.H.* xxiv. 306.

²⁴⁴ For Abdera cf. A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 156; for Maronea, A. Salaó, *Niederlän. Sbornik*, 180.

²⁴⁵ *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 117 ff.

²⁴⁶ *E.g.* Nos. 4, 28, 87, 121, 125 f., 152.

²⁴⁷ *Arch. Anz.* xl. 290.

²⁴⁸ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* iii. 237, 240.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 253; *Rev. Arch.* xxii. (1925), 354, No. 69.

²⁵⁰ *Ath. Mitt.* xlviii. 93 ff.

²⁵¹ For Nicopolis see also *Rev. Arch.* xxii. (1925), 35.

²⁵² *Ibid.* xxi. (1925), 258 ff.

²⁵³ *Ibid.* xxii. (1925), 62 ff.

²⁵⁴ *Arch. Anz.* xli. 1 ff.

²⁵⁵ *Ephem. Dacoromana*, ii. 378 ff.

tains²⁵⁶ a number of inscriptions on marble, on amphorae and other vases, and on tiles. E. Fridrik has given²⁵⁷ a preliminary account of 4764 stamped Rhodian amphora-handles found in S. Russia, together with lists of eponymous magistrates and of manufacturers. Two ostraka, found at Olbia and at Panticapaeum respectively, have been published²⁵⁸ by E. Diehl and commented on by S. Eitrem²⁵⁹ and F. Pfister.²⁶⁰ O. O. Krüger has edited²⁶¹ two newly-discovered inscriptions of Olbia—the epitaph of an Athenian and a decree of the second or third century A.D., passed in honour of a distinguished citizen after his death—and a dedication²⁶² to Heracles of unknown provenance, now in the Hermitage Museum. J. Zingerle has proposed²⁶³ two emendations in the text of the civic oath of the Chersonesites (*S.I.G.*³ 360). We may mention here also the famous fourth-century coinage-law of Olbia (*ibid.* 218), although the surviving copy may well come from the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus; ²⁶⁴ it has been subjected to a very close scrutiny²⁶⁵ by H. Schmitz, some of whose conclusions, however, are challenged by J. Hasebroek²⁶⁶ and K. Regling.²⁶⁷

No detailed notice of new restorations or interpretations of other inscriptions from this region²⁶⁸ is necessary.

VI. THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN²⁶⁹

[*I.G.* xi.] The past two years have brought welcome additions to the published texts of DELOS as well as marked progress in the interpretation of some which had been previously known. The two fresh instalments of the *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*—that²⁷⁰ in which J. Chamonard discusses the Theatre quarter and that²⁷¹ in which M. Bulard describes the painted revetments—makes slight, yet by no means negligible, contributions to Delian epigraphy.²⁷² Far more important is the volume²⁷³ in which F. Durrbach publishes in chronological order the records of the Delian *ἑπονοιαὶ* from 246 B.C. to the close of the third century, including a number of well-preserved and valuable documents such as Nos. 290, 298, 313, 320, 354 and 366, the last of which enumerates a very large number of festivals. Of the eighty-six texts here presented no fewer than sixty-nine were hitherto unpublished. The work is, practically speaking, a continuation of *I.G.* xi. 2, which comprised the

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 394 ff.

²⁵⁷ *Klio*, xx, 303 ff.

²⁵⁸ *Acta Univ. Lathomensis*, vi, 225 ff. Cf. *Phil. Week* xiv, 1151 f.

²⁵⁹ *Symbolae Osloenses*, II, 71 ff.

²⁶⁰ *Phil. Week* xiv, 381; cf. 87.

²⁶¹ *Invest. Ross. Akad. Intor. Mat. Kult.* iv, 81 ff.

²⁶² *Ibid.* 96.

²⁶³ *Klio*, xxi, 63 ff.

²⁶⁴ See *J.H.S.* xiv, 195.

²⁶⁵ *Ein Gesetz der Stadt Olbia zum Schutz ihres Silbergeldes*, Freiburg i. B., 1925.

²⁶⁶ *Phil. Week*, xiv, 368 ff.

²⁶⁷ *Deutsche Litetg.* 1925, 1471 ff.

²⁶⁸ *Acta Univ. Lathomensis*, x, 290 ff.; *Arch. Rel.* xxiv, 170; *Invest. Ross. Akad. Intor. Mat. Kult.* iv, 91 ff.

²⁶⁹ Cf. *S.I.G.*, II, 494 ff.

²⁷⁰ viii, 2, Paris, 1924. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxii, (1925), 183.

²⁷¹ ix, Paris, 1926.

²⁷² viii, 2, 264, 422 f., ix, 24, 66 f., 80, 137, 156, 157.

²⁷³ *Inscriptions de Délos: Comptes des Hiéropes*, Paris, 1926. Cf. *Deutsche Litetg.* 1926, 1287 f.; *Class. Rev.* xli, 87; *J.H.S.* xlvii, 160; *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxi, 133 f.

corresponding records down to 250 B.C.; the editor is the same and the arrangement of the material is identical, although the language here used in the *lemmata* and commentaries is French in place of Latin. M. Lacroix continues²⁷² his valuable notes on Delian inscriptions, correcting or restoring thirty-three of those published in *I.G.* xi. 2 and 4. A. Wilhelm explains²⁷³ the phrase οἱ τὴν τετραγώνον ἐργαζόμενοι, which occurs in two Delian dedications, L. Robert emends²⁷⁴ the treaty between the Lesbian cities (*I.G.* xi. 1064) and E. Ziebarth discusses²⁷⁵ fully the text and the contents of the *ἑρὰ συγγραφή* of about 300 B.C., 'a valuable because unique example of a model-*συγγραφή*,' containing the general conditions governing the lease of temple-domains. Epigraphical evidence further plays a prominent part in R. Vallois' investigations into the topography of the Artemisium, the monument of the Hyperboreans, the sacred olive-grove and the Horned Altar²⁷⁶ and into the *σκηνή* of the Delian Theatre,²⁷⁷ as well as in W. W. Tarn's essay²⁷⁸ on the political standing of Delos, in which he combats 'the somewhat fashionable dogma of the "neutrality" of Delos' and points out that 'the juridical conception of permanent political neutrality was entirely unknown to Greeks.' Recent discoveries on Delos²⁷⁹ and Myconos²⁸⁰ have been briefly chronicled but await fuller publication. Finally, E. Preuner has given²⁸¹ us a series of notes on a dial-legend from Myconos and a number of epitaphs from Rheneia.

[*I.G.* xii.] A. Maiuri has made a notable contribution to the epigraphy of RHODES and of Cos in his work entitled *Nuova Silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*,²⁸² which contains no fewer than 695 texts, excluding the twelve amphorastamps from Cos and the twenty-two *glandes missiles* which afford material for two appendices. The Rhodian inscriptions number 431, consisting of four decrees, seven catalogues of various kinds, five dedications (two of which bear sculptors' signatures), a ritual regulation, sixteen honorary inscriptions, five documents relating to festivals and competitions, eight sepulchral inscriptions erected by associations, two grave-epigrams and 383 ordinary epitaphs. Among this wealth of new material (only three of the texts had been previously published) special attention may be directed to a fragment (No. 4) which twice mentions a library (*βιβλιοθήκη*), a list (No. 5) of the members of a ship's crew, a long and interesting inscription (No. 18) set up in honour of a certain Polyteles and containing a recital of the civil and military posts he had occupied and of the honours paid him by clubs and societies, and, above all, a fascinatingly interesting, though tantalizingly mutilated, list of works contained in a Rhodian library (No. 11). The Coan portion of the work comprises 264 new inscriptions from the city of Cos (Nos. 432-664) and from the *demes* of the island (Nos. 665-695), among which a full record of sacrifices offered to Nike (No. 441) and a long and valuable honorary record (No. 462) call for special mention.

²⁷² *B.C.H.* xlviii. 399 ff.

²⁷³ *Glottol.* xiv. 73 f.

²⁷⁴ *Rev. Et. Gr.* xxxviii. 38 ff.

²⁷⁵ *Hermes*, lxi. 87 ff.

²⁷⁶ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 411 ff.

²⁷⁷ *Rev. Et. Anc.* xxviii. 171 ff.

²⁷⁸ *J.H.S.* xlii. 141 ff.

²⁷⁹ *B.C.H.* xlix. 468 ff.

²⁸⁰ *Isth.* xlviii. 484.

²⁸¹ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 134, 142 f.

²⁸² Florence, 1925.

A large number of restorations and corrections are suggested in valuable reviews of this work by G. De Sanctis,²⁸⁵ F. von Hiller²⁸⁶ and A. Vogliano,²⁸⁷ the last of whom publishes²⁸⁸ a Rhodian epigram discovered by Maiuri too late for insertion in his *Silloge*. All three scholars deal with the book-catalogue, to which De Sanctis in especial devotes a detailed investigation²⁸⁹ emphasizing the value of the list here preserved of the minor works of the historian Theopompus. One of Maiuri's texts (No. 25) and a previously known Rhodian inscription (*I.G.* xii. 1. 734) are convincingly restored²⁹⁰ by F. von Hiller, and other texts of the same provenance are emended by A. Vogliano²⁹¹ and by L. Robert,²⁹² while A. Wilhelm investigates²⁹³ the two decrees of the Rhodian Aphrodisiastae (*J.H.S.* xlv. 187). To the collection of Rhodian amphora-stamps amassed in S. Russia reference has already been made.

Turning to LEBBOS we may note C. Clehorias' discussion²⁹⁴ of several texts of Mytilene (*I.G.* xii. 2. 88, 260, 375) and L. Robert's restorations of important decrees of the same city²⁹⁵ and of Eresus (*ibid.* 527).²⁹⁶ The identification of a fragment found in SYRIS as belonging to the Attic decree (*S.I.G.* 87) enforcing the adoption of Athenian coinage by the subject members of the Empire has naturally invited determined efforts to restore the text and to investigate its historical context and interpretation. The fullest discussions are those of A. Wilhelm²⁹⁷ and of F. von Hiller and G. Klaffenbach;²⁹⁸ elsewhere von Hiller has given²⁹⁹ Klaffenbach's restoration side by side with an alternative suggested by U. von Wilamowitz and has assigned the enactment to the close of Cleon's life. L. Robert has also corrected the texts of honorary decrees of Astypalaea (*I.G.* xii. 3. 172)³⁰⁰ and Melos (*ibid.* 1073),³⁰¹ while A. Wilhelm has commented³⁰² on a Cretan resolution granting *ἐαυλία* to Anaphe (*ibid.* 254) and C. D. Buck has adduced³⁰³ a new argument in favour of reading the proper name *Γρόφων* rather than the participle *γρόφων* in an archaic Melian dedication (*ibid.* 1075).

Of recently published inscriptions of Cos something has already been said in connexion with Maiuri's *Nuova Silloge*, and on a Calymnian text A. Wilhelm has contributed a note.³⁰⁴ E. Preuner has extracted from valuable manuscript sources a number of notes³⁰⁵ on various inscriptions of Paros, Cythnos, Ceos and Syros, and has published,³⁰⁶ according to a copy and restoration made by W. Kolbe, a fourth-century record, now preserved at Athens but almost certainly brought there from Ceos, of loans made by 'the god,' pre-

²⁸⁵ *Riv. Fil.* liv. 57 ff.

²⁸⁶ *Onomast.* ii. 193 ff., 365.

²⁸⁷ *Atene e Roma*, vii. 133 ff.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 137 f.

²⁸⁹ *Riv. Fil.* liv. 63 ff.

²⁹⁰ *Hermes*, lxi. 470 f.; cf. *Onomast.* ii. 197.

²⁹¹ *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 227 ff.

²⁹² *Rec. Ét. Gr.* xxxvi. 179, note 1.

²⁹³ *Glotta*, xiv. 68 ff., 83.

²⁹⁴ *Römische Studien*, 320 ff.; cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 497.

²⁹⁵ *B.C.H.* xlix. 233 ff.

²⁹⁶ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxviii. 423 ff. For 1.6,

xii. 2. 524 see F. von Hiller, *Arch. Rel.* xiv. 169 f.

²⁹⁷ *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 158 ff.

²⁹⁸ *Zts. f. Num.* xxxv. 217 ff.; cf. B. Leonardos, *Apex. Ep.* 1923, 169.

²⁹⁹ *Apex. Ep.* 1923, 116 f.

³⁰⁰ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 336 ff.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.* 331.

³⁰² *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 154 f.

³⁰³ *Class. Phil.* xx. 140 f.

³⁰⁴ *Wien. Ant.* 1924, 151.

³⁰⁵ *Att. Mit.* xlix. 134 ff.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 136 ff.

sumably Apollo, to the public exchequer of some Cean state. G. Welter has copied a third-century Naxian mortgage stone³⁰⁷ and a newly discovered portion of a Siphnian honorary inscription³⁰⁸ which completes a text already partially known (*I.G.* xii. 5. 486). W. Bannier has dealt³⁰⁹ with some points on the well-known Cean burial-law (*ibid.* 593). P. Graindor has published³¹⁰ a new dedication from Tenos and B. Haussoullier has introduced³¹¹ two corrections into the text of a Tenian law regulating admission to a religious association.

A. Rehm, to whom the Berlin Academy has entrusted the responsible task of editing the inscriptions of SAMOS, Chios and the other Ionian islands in *I.G.* xii. 6, has reported³¹² on the results of a preparatory journey which he has undertaken in order to collect and revise the relevant materials. E. Preuner has worked over the papers relative to Samos left by C. Curtius, who died in 1922, and has based on them a very valuable article³¹³ comprising notes on Samian sculptures and inscriptions, in which he incorporates three new texts (a dedication to Zeus Milichios, an epitaph of the Roman period and part of the inscription on a *σπίκουμα*), corrections and restorations of inscriptions previously published, especially those in *I.G. Rom.* iv. 958 ff., and discussions of the fifth-century Samian *ῥοι* and of the prosopography and onomatology of the island. Contributions of minor importance are due to A. Wilhelm³¹⁴ and L. Robert.³¹⁵

J. Zingerle has discussed³¹⁶ the date and form of an exorcism from AMORGOS designed to cure a malignant tumour (*φῶμα ἄγριον*).

E. Pfuhl's re-examination³¹⁷ of the "Tyrrhenian" stele from Lemnos relates to its artistic and not to its epigraphical interest. A. Salač has published³¹⁸ a fragment of what he regards as the dedicatory inscription of the temple of the Great Gods erected at SAMOTHRACE about 260 B.C. and a long but mutilated catalogue of names³¹⁹ and F. Chapouthier a portion of a list of *μύσται ἐνδοξοί* dating from the third or even the fourth century of our era, the latest extant member of a considerable group.³²⁰ Salač and Wilhelm have corrected³²¹ three texts which have been erroneously read or interpreted (*I.G.* xii. 8. 170, 178, 233). L. Robert has discussed³²² the restoration of a Smyrnaean decree relative to Thasian judges and M. Deffner has investigated³²³ the traces of a fifth-century inscription still discernible beneath a second-century text of Seyros (*ibid.* 666). E. Preuner has suggested³²⁴ an improved reading of a remarkable epitaph of Aedepsus in Euboea (*I.G.* xii. 9. 1240).

[*I.G.* xiii.] CRETE constantly provides new epigraphical discoveries of interest³²⁵ and it is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when we shall possess the volume of *Inscriptiones Graecae* which is allocated to that island.

³⁰⁷ *S.E.G.* ii. 500.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 503.

³⁰⁹ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxiv. 288 ff.

³¹⁰ *Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.* v. 319 ff.

³¹¹ *Rev. Phil.* l. 97 ff.

³¹² *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1926. 90 ff., *Gnomon*, ii.

123 f.

³¹³ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 31 ff.

³¹⁴ *Wien. Anz.* 1924. 159 f.

³¹⁵ *B.C.H.* xlix. 232 f.; cf. 474.

³¹⁶ *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beihlatt, 67 ff.

³¹⁷ *Ath. Mitt.* xlviii. 128 ff.

³¹⁸ *B.C.H.* xlix. 245 ff.

³¹⁹ *Niederlue Stornik*, 158 f.

³²⁰ *B.C.H.* xlix. 254 ff.; cf. 466.

³²¹ *Niederlue Stornik*, 159 f., *Wien. Anz.*

1922, 16; cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 504.

³²² *B.C.H.* xlviii. 331 ff., xlix. 219.

³²³ *Apex. Eph.* 1923, 103 ff.

³²⁴ *Jahrb.* xl. 39 ff.

³²⁵ Cf. Halbberr, *Riv. Fil.* iii. 96 ff.

Among recent accessions we may note a dedication ³²⁶ of the second century B.C. and a curious epigram of sixteen lines dating from the first century B.C. or A.D., found at Itanus and affording an insight into the cult of private heroes in the Greek world: it has been published by D. Levi ³²⁷ and A. Vogliano has commented ³²⁸ upon some of the problems which it raises. M. Mutterschlag has published, under the title *Zur Verfassungsgeschichte Kretas im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, ³²⁹ the dissertation mentioned in my last Bibliography ³³⁰ and G. Novello has attempted ³³¹ to estimate the contribution made by epigraphical sources to the history of the international relations of the Cretan cities. Especial attention has been drawn to the metrical inscriptions of the island by D. Levi's collection ³³² of the extant materials: A. Vogliano has emended or commented on a number of these ³³³ and other Cretan epigrams. ³³⁴ J. H. Thiel maintains, ³³⁵ on *a priori* grounds and from the code itself, that Gortynian law of the fifth century did not sanction the private right of avenging murder. R. J. Walker has attempted ³³⁶ to show that the three inscriptions of Praesus commonly regarded as 'Eteocretan' are in reality Greek and represent (a) an excerpt from a prose itinerary of Crete written in Ionic; (b) an inventory with 'Minoan' affinities, expressed, at least in part, in a mercantile medium and employing numerical signs, and (c) an oracular response in hexameter verse, written in the Attic dialect with a strong Epic colouring. One reviewer holds ³³⁷ that the author is 'on the right track' though many of his restorations and inferences require revision; but J. Fraser, ³³⁸ S. R[einach] ³³⁹ and G. D[e] S[ancetis] ³⁴⁰ remain wholly sceptical. Mention should also be made of W. Crönert's able restoration ³⁴¹ of the recently discovered document relative to the dispute between Itanus and Hierapytna and S. Eitrem's discussion ³⁴² of an inscribed Cretan amulet.

VII. WESTERN EUROPE

[*I.G.* xiv.] Considerable interest attaches to the work ³⁴³ in which V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Olivieri deal with the Greek inscriptions of Sicily and Lower Italy relative to legal questions: it contains fresh editions of, and a full commentary upon, twenty-six documents, including the famous inscriptions of Heraclea (*I.G.* xiv. 645) and of Halaesa (*ibid.* 352) recording the leases of sacred and public lands, the extensive accounts of Tauromenium (*ibid.* 422 ff.) and a series of minor texts—statutes of associations, deeds of gift, *defixiones*, an

³²⁶ *Klio*, xx. 466 f.

³²⁷ *Rev. Fil.* lxx. 208 ff.

³²⁸ *Boll. fil. class.* xxxii. 202 f.

³²⁹ Glückstadt & Hamburg, 1925. Cf. *Gnomon*, lli. 377 ff.

³³⁰ *J.H.S.* xlv. 188.

³³¹ *Atene e Roma*, vii. 251 ff.

³³² *Silloge in verso delle iscrizioni metriche cretesi in Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* N.S. ii. 321 ff.

³³³ *Rev. Fil.* lxx. 216 ff., *Phil. Week.* xlv. 1326 f., *Boll. fil. class.* xxxii. 204 f.

³³⁴ *Boll. fil. class.* xxxii. 203 f.

³³⁵ *Museonaeum*, lxx. 260 ff.

³³⁶ *Three Inscriptions from Crete*, Monaco, 1925.

³³⁷ *J.H.S.* xlv. 272.

³³⁸ *Class. Rev.* xxxix. 207.

³³⁹ *Rev. Arch.* xxiv. (1920), 90.

³⁴⁰ *Rev. Fil.* lxx. 121 f.

³⁴¹ *S.E.O.* ii. 511.

³⁴² *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 1922, 1151; cf. *S.E.O.* ii. 514.

³⁴³ *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et insulae Italiae ad ius pertinentes*, Milan (U. Hoepli), 1925. Cf. O. Gradenwitz, *Zts. d. Sammelstiftung*, Rom. Abt. xlvii. 490 ff.

archaic law of homicide, etc. An appendix, in which all the pertinent sources are printed in full, is devoted to a discussion of the laws of Charondas, Zaleucus and other legislators of Sicily and southern Italy, while a second appendix contains a fully annotated text of Theophrastus' chapter on *συμβόλαια* preserved by Stobaeus.

U. Sicea's grammar³⁴⁴ of the Dorian inscriptions of SICILY, in which the extant literary evidence is also taken into consideration, is known to me only through reviews,³⁴⁵ from which it would appear that the work, while not greatly extending our knowledge, affords a clear, full and useful survey and discussion of the relative material and a new edition of the above-mentioned records of Halaesa. The Sicilian inscriptions published for the first time comprise twenty-nine Christian epitaphs from Syracuse published³⁴⁶ by P. Orsi, a fragment of an archaic decree on bronze from Acrae³⁴⁷ now in New York, two fifth-century *defixiones* on leaden tablets found at Camarina, which have been published³⁴⁸ by F. Ribezzo and corrected³⁴⁹ by A. Vogliano, a series of interesting mason's marks from the temple of Demeter at Agragae,³⁵⁰ together with a dedication to Hermes and an inscribed sherd from the same neighbourhood.³⁵¹ F. Ribezzo has discussed³⁵² a well-known *defixio* from Selinus and the bilingual dedication to Priapus from Acireale near Catania,³⁵³ while A. Vogliano has put forward suggestions for the restoration and interpretation of a curse from Messina³⁵⁴ and of an archaic epigram from Birgi near Motya,³⁵⁵ which is apparently the earliest metrical inscription yet discovered in Sicily, and G. M. A. Richter has attempted to explain³⁵⁶ a hitherto obscure word on a Gelon vase at Palermo.

A number of curious masons' marks and the stamp on an earthenware jar from Caulonia in southern ITALY have been published³⁵⁷ by P. Orsi. Three fragments of tiles, possibly from Taras, bearing an early metrical inscription, have been discovered³⁵⁸ by S. Ferri at Pomarico Vecchio, near Metapontum, and W. Bannier has essayed³⁵⁹ an interpretation of a puzzling archaic text of the same town. J. Whatmough has examined³⁶⁰ afresh the *abecedarium* copied at Vaste by Luigi Cépolla in 1805, concluding that it represents the Messapic alphabet, derived from a 'Tarentine-Ionic' source. A. Vogliano offers³⁶¹ a provisional restoration of a metrical epitaph from Lavello (Basilicata). The finds made at Sorrento,³⁶² Spoleto³⁶³ and Sutri³⁶⁴ do not call for special remark. Pompeian inscriptions have attracted the attention of F. Muller,³⁶⁵

³⁴⁴ *Grammatica delle iscrizioni doriche della Sicilia*, Arpino, 1924.

³⁴⁵ *Boll. fil. class.* xxi. 123, *Deutsche Lit.* 1926, 1836 ff., *Idg. Forsch.* xlv. 362 ff., *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxvii. 468 f., *Riv. indo-gréco-ital.* ix. 203 f.

³⁴⁶ *Memorie Pont. Accad. Rom.* i. 1. 113 ff.

³⁴⁷ *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* x. 260 f.

³⁴⁸ *Riv. indo-gréco-ital.* viii. 262 ff.

³⁴⁹ *Boll. fil. class.* xxxii. 161.

³⁵⁰ *Notizie*, 1926, 184.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.* 1925, 421, 448.

³⁵² *Riv. indo-gréco-ital.* ix. 64.

³⁵³ *Ibid.* 65 f.; cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 533.

³⁵⁴ *Phil. Week.* xlv. 1327.

³⁵⁵ *Boll. fil. class.* xxxiii. 103 ff.

³⁵⁶ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 426.

³⁵⁷ *Mon. Ant.* xxix. 450 f., 487.

³⁵⁸ *Notizie*, 1926, 331.

³⁵⁹ *Phil. Week.* xlvi. 542 f.

³⁶⁰ *Class. Qu.* xix. 68 ff.

³⁶¹ *Boll. fil. class.* xxxiii. 106 f.

³⁶² *Notizie*, 1924, 376, 380 f., *Arch. Anz.* xii. 221.

³⁶³ *Notizie*, 1924, 423.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 1925, 373 ff.

³⁶⁵ *Minusculae*, liii. 448.

A. W. Van Buren³⁶⁶ and S. de Ricci.³⁶⁷ The curious metrical inscription from Puteoli, first published by A. Olivieri (cf. *J.H.S.* xliii. 31) and subsequently edited³⁶⁸ by D. Comparetti, has appeared, with restorations suggested by U. von Wilamowitz and F. von Hiller, in *S.E.G.* ii. 530. At Solluna, near Velletri, an interesting bilingual text has been discovered,³⁶⁹ set up by *οἱ στρατιώμενοι Καίσαρι ναύαρχοι καὶ τριήραρχοι* in honour of M. Mindius Marcellus, a *praefectus classis*, who fought for Octavian in his struggle with S. Pompeius.³⁷⁰ An earthenware dolphin, now at Dresden, bearing an inscription of the fourth century B.C., is attributed to southern Italy, while a jug from Viterbo³⁷¹ with a very early Chalcidian alphabet has recently been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Among the inscriptions recently discovered at Rome is a fragment of a fourth-century Attic dedication:³⁷² the remainder are epitaphs, among which special attention may be drawn to a semi-metrical text found at San Saba on the Aventine,³⁷³ the epigram³⁷⁴ on the grave of a young man from Astacus, which describes him as *οἰκοδόμον ξυλοεργὸν ἀμώμητον κατὰ τέχνην*, and the record³⁷⁵ commemorating a *φιλόλογος* who died before completing his fourteenth year. A. Olivieri has discussed³⁷⁶ a Roman sepulchral epigram now at Sinigaglia (*I.G.* xiv. 2068); W. Amelung has championed³⁷⁷ the current view that the famous portrait-statue of the Lateran represents Sophocles rather than Solon and has carefully re-examined the epigraphical evidence in this controversy;³⁷⁸ C. Huelsen has given an account³⁷⁹ of two fifteenth-century collections of Roman inscriptions, in which a few Greek texts figure, and A. Körte³⁸⁰ and P. Geissler³⁸¹ have devoted valuable reviews to Dittmer's edition of the fragments of the Athenian comic *didascaliae* found at Rome.

The poem engraved on an altar in the Lateran Museum continues³⁸² to excite a lively debate. A. Vogliano, who seeks upon the basis of autopsy to reconstruct the text as far as possible, criticises³⁸³ Fabre's interpretation and seeks to show that the monument records the revival of the worship of Attis (*Εὐρυβίας*) by the priest Gaidiatas after an interruption of twenty-eight years, which he dates from the death of Julian (A.D. 363) to the usurpation of Eugenius (A.D. 392). H. J. Rose, revising his earlier conclusions, has independently reached a somewhat similar conclusion,³⁸⁴ regarding the document as belonging to the short-lived pagan revival under Julian and the twenty-eight years of

³⁶⁶ *Am. Journ. Phil.* xlvii. 179.

³⁶⁷ *Rendic. Pont. Accad. Rom. Ser. III.* ii. 57 ff.

³⁶⁸ *Opuscoli epigraphici* I. Florence, 1921; cf. A. Vogliano, *Athenaeum*, i. 262.

³⁶⁹ *Notizie*, 1924, 311 ff.; cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxii. (1925), 362.

³⁷⁰ Appian, *B.C.* v. 102.

³⁷¹ *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xx. 269 f.

³⁷² *Notizie*, 1926, 292, 297, *Bull. com. arch. com. III.* 202, 215, 219, 223, 226, *Rev. arch. crist.* i. 61, 64, 68 ff., 75, 107, ii. 13, 15, 17, 23, 28 f., *Rendic. Pont. Accad. Rom. Ser. III.* iii. 283 f., 470 f.

³⁷³ *Rendic. Pont. Accad. Rom. Ser. III.* iii. 191 ff.

³⁷⁴ *Notizie*, 1924, 425.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 1925, 164.

³⁷⁶ *Atti Napoli. N.S.* viii. 91 ff.

³⁷⁷ *Memorie Pont. Accad. Rom.* i. i. 113 ff.

³⁷⁸ *J.H.S.* xlv. 189, cf. 131.

³⁷⁹ *Memorie Pont. Accad. Rom.* i. 2. 129 ff.

³⁸⁰ *Phil. Week.* xlv. i ff.

³⁸¹ *Quoniam*, i. 175 ff.

³⁸² See *J.H.S.* xlv. 190, *S.E.G.* ii. 518.

³⁸³ *Rendiconti d. Lincei*, i. 3 ff.; cf. *Boll. pl. class.* xxxii. 237.

³⁸⁴ *J.H.S.* xlv. 180 ff.

'night' as symbolizing the triumph of Christianity from A.D. 333 to 361. In his reply,³²⁵ while admitting that certainty is unattained and perhaps unattainable, Fabre still prefers his view that the poem commemorates a *taurobolium* renewed after an interval of twenty-eight years, indicates the vulnerable points in Vogliano's argument and maintains that the postulated suspension of the Attis cult from 363 to 392 is disproved by the succession of extant taurobolic records, at least eleven in number, which fall between 374 and 390. Rose's view he regards as preferable, but points to the existence of a taurobolic memorial dated A.D. 350 (C.I.L. vi. 498). C. H. Moore has reviewed³²⁶ the evidence for the supposed duration of the efficacy of the rite.

The inscriptions on the exterior and interior of a bronze ring discovered³²⁷ by A. Schulten on the site of Tartessus in southern SPAIN have been interpreted³²⁸ by W. Bannier, who sees in the ring an importation from Sicily or lower Italy, and with greater plausibility by Schulten himself,³²⁹ whose view is, however, called in question³³⁰ by H. Lamer. F. Cumont has carefully revised³³¹ the text of the dedication to Syrian deities found at Cordova.³³² L. C. Purser has published³³³ a considerable collection of ancient inscriptions preserved at Shanganagh Castle in County Dublin: among them are nine Greek texts, of which two appear in *I.G.* xiv. 1611, 2041.

VIII. ASIA MINOR

The fourth volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, which deals with the Roman province of Asia, is happily nearing completion: the fasciculus³³⁴ issued in 1925, under the editorship of G. Lafaye, comprises the addenda and corrigenda of the volume and the first part of the full indexes which are indispensable in a work of this nature. H. Grégoire is engaged in the preparation of the remaining instalments of his *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques Chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*³³⁵ and we may hope that ere long this great undertaking also will reach its conclusion: meanwhile he has put forward attractive solutions of problems presented by two inscriptions, an epitaph from Mendechora which will be mentioned below and the heretical verses from Bash Hüyük published by W. M. Calder in *Anatolian Studies*, 76 ff.,³³⁶ in which Grégoire explains³³⁷ the ΤΙCΑΙΤΡCΙΝ (erroneously engraved for ΤΙCΑΤΙCΙΝ) as the Aramaic for 99, indicating the mystical name of Christ, Ἀρσὴν, the numerical values of whose letters give a total of 99. Calder has continued his valuable contributions to early Christian epigraphy in an article,³³⁸ in which he discusses the use of the crypto-Christian formula against grave-violators, ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς

³²⁵ *Rendicenti d. Linee*, i. 858 ff.

³²⁶ *Class. Phil.* xix. 363 ff.

³²⁷ *Arch. Anz.* xxxviii./ix. 5 ff.

³²⁸ *Phil. Week.* xlv. 543.

³²⁹ *Ibid.* 1038 ff.

³³⁰ *Ibid.* 1320 f.

³³¹ *Syria*, v. 342 ff.

³³² Cf. *J.R.S.* xiv. 190 f.

³³³ *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* xxxvii. C. 1.

³³⁴ IV. 7, Paris, 1925.

³³⁵ Cf. F. von Hiller, *Byz. Neugr. Jahrb.* v. 213 ff.

³³⁶ See an interesting review by B. Haussoullier, *Journ. d. Savants*, 1925, 119 ff.

³³⁷ *Byzantion*, ii. 449 ff. Cf. *ibid.* i. 695 ff.; *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. 209.

³³⁸ *J.R.S.* xiv. 85 ff.

Θεόν, which occurs, or can be confidently restored, in seven epitaphs, four of which are here first published; he further calls attention to the introduction of + as a Christian symbol in place of X in the phrase *μνήμης χάριν* in a group of third and fourth-century inscriptions.³⁹⁹ The lexical notes of A. Wilhelm⁴⁰⁰ and Calder⁴⁰¹ deal with a number of Anatolian words and usages. K. Kourouniotes' report⁴⁰² on the work of the Greek Archaeological Service in Asia Minor during the brief occupation by the Hellenic Army contains photographs and other epigraphical material of value. E. Preuner has derived from the papers of C. Curtius a number of notes⁴⁰³ on inscriptions copied by that scholar on various sites in Asia Minor, while two Anatolian stones of unknown provenance, bearing reliefs of mounted deities and dedicatory inscriptions to *Ἀπόλλων Κισαλουδηνός* and *θεός Κάκασβος* have been described⁴⁰⁴ and discussed by J. Gagé.

A. Vogliano has emended⁴⁰⁵ a number of inscriptions from CARIA published by Maiuri in *Annuario*, iv./v. 461 ff. F. von Hiller has corrected⁴⁰⁶ a metrical dedication from Thyssamus in the Rhodian Peraea. Vogliano has discussed⁴⁰⁷ two Halicarnassian epigrams, and L. Robert⁴⁰⁸ and A. Wilhelm⁴⁰⁹ have suggested improved readings in an inventory of sacred objects found at the same place. In his thorough and exhaustive work⁴¹⁰ on the *κοινὸν τῶν Παναμαρέων* and the temple and cult of Zeus Panamaros, H. Oppermann has had to rely almost wholly on epigraphical materials, to which he adds one new inscription from Tenaz. A. Wilhelm has corrected⁴¹¹ two texts from Mylasa published by A. Persson.⁴¹² A valuable loan-record from Olymus⁴¹³ has been emended independently by A. Wilhelm⁴¹⁴ and N. G. Pappadakis.⁴¹⁵ M. Holleaux has investigated⁴¹⁶ the date of the letter (*O.G.I.* 763) addressed by Eumenes II to the Ionian Confederacy and assigns it to 167 B.C., when Eumenes touched at Delos on his return from Brundisium; W. Baumbier has sought⁴¹⁷ to clear up certain problems presented by the law of the Milesian *μολποί* (*S.I.G.*³ 57); L. Robert has suggested⁴¹⁸ restorations of two decrees⁴¹⁹ from the Delphinium at Miletus in praise of Milesian judges sent to foreign states, and other corrections or explanations of Milesian texts have been put forward by C. Picard,⁴²⁰ K. Regling,⁴²¹ A. Wilhelm⁴²² and W. Vollgraf.⁴²³ In a series of articles⁴²⁴ completed shortly before his death, B. Haussoullier made his final

³⁹⁹ *Cl. Byzantion*, ii. 384 f.

⁴⁰⁰ *Glossa*, xiv. 68 ff.

⁴⁰¹ *Gloss. Res.* xi. 18 f.

⁴⁰² *Ap. Del.* vii. cap. 1 ff.

⁴⁰³ *Ad. Mus.* xlix. 144 ff.

⁴⁰⁴ *Mélanges Rome*, xliii. 163 ff.

⁴⁰⁵ *Riv. Fil.* lii. 230.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ap. Ep.* 1923, 117.

⁴⁰⁷ *Riv. Fil.* liii. 224 ff.

⁴⁰⁸ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxvii. 176 f.

⁴⁰⁹ *Glossa*, xiv. 78.

⁴¹⁰ *Zeus Panamaros*, Giessen, 1924; cf. *Phil. Week.* xiv. 331 ff., *Orient. Litist.* xxix. 250 ff.

⁴¹¹ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 152 ff.

⁴¹² *B.C.H.* xvi. 209 ff.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* 420.

⁴¹⁴ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 142 ff., 151.

⁴¹⁵ *Ap. Del.* viii. 238.

⁴¹⁶ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxvii. 305 ff., 326 ff., 478 f.; cf. *Riv. Fil.* lii. 129.

⁴¹⁷ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxiv. 280 ff.

⁴¹⁸ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 339, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxviii. 29 ff.

⁴¹⁹ *Milet.* iii. Nos. 152, 152 a.

⁴²⁰ *B.C.H.* xlvii. 253, 256; cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 570.

⁴²¹ *Phil. Week.* xlv. 430.

⁴²² *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 150 f., *Glossa*, xiv. 83 f.

⁴²³ *Museonag.* lii. 476.

⁴²⁴ *Rev. Phil.* xlix. 5 ff., i. 67 ff., 125 ff.

contribution to a group of texts which owes much to his industry, knowledge and insight,—the accounts of the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Didyma. He gives us seven hitherto unpublished fragments, one dating from the closing years of the third century B.C., five from the first half of the second and one from the period 150-86 B.C., together with re-editions of three documents and detailed discussions of the workers employed, the tasks accomplished and the prices and wages paid. L. Robert argues⁴¹⁵ that the city called 'Antioch of the Chrysaeians' is Alabanda rather than Mylasa. A. von Gerkan returns⁴¹⁶ to the question of the date of two inscribed statue-bases in front of the *προσκήνιον* of the theatre at Priene (*Inschr. v. Priene*, 237, 255), and M. Holleaux discusses⁴¹⁷ the date of and restores certain passages in the letter of M. Aemilius to the Mylasians, the text of which was discovered at Magnesia on the Maeander (*S.I.G.³ 679*). Of the Greek excavations at Nysa K. Kouromiotis has given a full account,⁴¹⁸ in which he incorporates eight statue-bases of M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Faustina the Younger, etc., erected in the *γεροντικόν* by a certain Julius Antoninus Pythodorus (pp. 68 ff., 246), some minor epigraphical finds (pp. 19 f., 42, 84) and numerous corrections of or comments on Nysaeian inscriptions (p. 78 ff.). The same scholar, dealing⁴¹⁹ with the site of the ancient Mastaura, gives a photograph of an inscription taken thence to Smyrna (*Le Bas-Wadd.* 1664) and corrects another text of the same provenance (*C.I.G.* 2951), while in an article⁴²⁰ inaccessible to me he has reported on the results of a visit paid to Temenothyrae, Sebaste and other sites shortly before the withdrawal of the Greek Army.

The excavation⁴²¹ by G. A. Soteriou of the Byzantine church of St. John Theologos at Ephesus led to the discovery of a number of Byzantine and other texts, the most interesting of which are a decree of the guild of the Demetriastae *πρὸ πόλεως* (p. 200) and a curious thanksgiving (p. 113 ff.) of two *ναοποιοὶ αὐθαίρετοι* at the close of their term of office. This latter document supplies G. P. Oikonomos with the starting point of a long and detailed examination⁴²² of the functions of *ναοποιοὶ* and *ἱεροῖτες* in the administration of the ancient Greek temples, including a geographical survey of all the epigraphical evidence relative to these officials. H. Hörmann has essayed⁴²³ a restoration of the dedicatory inscription of the Roman *scenae frons*, and B. Warnecke has illustrated⁴²⁴ from Vitruvius (v. 6, 4) the purpose of the *ἀντίσκηνος* (*στροφ*) of the Ephesian theatre, while J. Herbillon has examined⁴²⁵ the archaic text (*S.I.G.³ 1167*) which reveals to us some of the rules of augury as practised at Ephesus. The remaining contributions⁴²⁶ to the epigraphy of this city do not call for special mention. J. Keil has attributed⁴²⁷ to Pygela a grant of citizen-

⁴¹⁵ *B.O.H.* xlix. 228 f.

⁴¹⁶ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 225 ff.; cf. *S.E.G.* ii.

571.

⁴¹⁷ *B.O.H.* xlviii. 385 f., 396 f.

⁴¹⁸ *Arch. Δελτ.* vii. 1 ff., 227 ff.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.* 257.

⁴²⁰ *Ἡμερησίον της μεγάλης Ελλάδος*, 1925, 291 ff.; cf. *B.O.H.* xlviii. 510 f.

⁴²¹ *Arch. Δελτ.* vii. 29 ff., esp. 111 ff.

198 ff.; cf. *B.O.H.* xlviii. 506, *Byzantion*, i. 710 ff.

⁴²² *Arch. Δελτ.* vii. 258 ff.

⁴²³ *Jahrb.* xxxviii./ix. 304 ff.

⁴²⁴ *Philologus*, lxxxi, 127 f.

⁴²⁵ *Musée Belge*, xxviii. 181 ff.

⁴²⁶ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 144 f., *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 156, *S.E.G.* ii. 578.

⁴²⁷ *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 73 ff.

ship of about 310-290 B.C., found at Ayasoluk in 1896 and now preserved at Vienna, and has examined the history of that little-known state. L. Robert devotes an interesting commentary⁴²³ to the decree of the Colophonian Asclepiastae, in the course of which he suggests several improved restorations of the text and R. Vallois calls attention⁴²⁰ to a mistaken reading of an inscription from Notium. Y. Béquignon and A. Lammonier have published⁴²⁶ the epigraphical results of the excavation carried out in 1924 at Teos, among which are three interesting documents relative to the relations between Teos and three distant states,—Hyrtaca, another Cretan city and Tyre,—several fragments of dedications, an honorary inscription for Nerva and five epitaphs. W. Bannier has investigated⁴²¹ the famous Tean commination (*S.I.G.³ 37, 38*), which he assigns to the middle of the fifth century, and L. Robert has proposed⁴²² a corrected reading of a decree of Bargyllia in praise of a Tean judge (*S.I.G.³ 426*) and a brilliant restoration⁴²³ of a hitherto misunderstood fragment from Erythrae, from which site E. Preuner has given⁴²⁴ us a new honorary inscription. A. Wilhelm has published⁴²⁵ a text of the second century B.C. which increases to six the known tower-names of Smyrna, H. Grégoire has discussed⁴²⁶ a puzzling sixth-century epitaph⁴²⁷ from Mendechora near Philadelphia and has shown that it commemorates a Montanist archbishop (*κοινωνός*) of *Μελουκόμην*, C. Cichorius throws⁴²⁸ fresh light upon an honorary inscription from Blaundus, and E. Preuner adds⁴²⁹ an epitaph to the records of Julia Gordas. In his 'Notes on Inscriptions from Sardis'⁴³⁰ D. M. Robinson corrects the versions of a number of texts collected in the Sardian section of *I.G. Rom.* (iv. 1502 ff.) and assigns to Thyatira an inscription falsely attributed to Sardis in *Rev. Ét. Anc.* viii. 190, while W. H. Buckler proposes⁴³¹ an ingenious restoration of *C.I.G.* 3459. In an article⁴³² dealing with the interesting category of Maeonian confession-records, recently discussed by F. Steinleitner⁴³³ and W. H. Buckler,⁴³⁴ J. Zingerle adds five examples dating from the second and third centuries A.D. published in an almost inaccessible periodical, gives a better reading of one of Steinleitner's examples, comments fully on these texts and emphasizes the distinction between those cases where the transgression confessed is one against ritual prescriptions and those which concern questions of everyday legal relations.

From MYSLIA there is little to record. L. Robert has some valuable comments⁴³⁵ on a decree of Pitana found at Pergamum (*O.G.I.* 335) and A. Wilhelm defends⁴³⁶ the text of a disputed passage in the Pergamene police-regulations (*O.G.I.* 483). Robert has further made contributions⁴³⁷ to the restoration of

⁴²³ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxviii. 5 ff.

⁴²⁰ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 521.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.* xlix. 298 ff., 482 f.

⁴²² *Rhein. Mus.* lxxiv. 235 ff.

⁴²³ *B.C.H.* xlix. 230 ff.

⁴²⁴ *U.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1926, 169 ff.

⁴²⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 148.

⁴²⁶ *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 150; cf. *B.C.H.* xlviii. 506 f.

⁴²⁷ *Byzantion*, ii. 329 ff.; *S.E.G.* ii. 686.

⁴²⁸ *J.H.S.* xxxvii. 96.

⁴²⁹ *Römische Studien*, 433, *S.E.G.* ii. 867.

⁴³⁰ *Ath. Mitt.* xlix. 147 f.

⁴³¹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxviii. 70 ff.

⁴³² *Rev. Phil.* l. 5 ff.

⁴³³ *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 5 ff.

⁴³⁴ *Die Bruchstücke*, Leipzig, 1913.

⁴³⁵ *B.S.A.* xxi. 169 ff.

⁴³⁶ *B.C.H.* xlix. 219 ff.

⁴³⁷ *Glotta*, xiv. 74 f.

⁴³⁸ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 339 ff., xlix. 229 f.

two inscriptions of Assos and W. Leaf has discussed ⁴⁵⁸ a fragmentary dedication to Trajan on a building at Adramyttium. In a particularly interesting article ⁴⁵⁹ E. Preuner has shown that a copy of *C.I.G.* 3601 found among the papers of the artist Linckh enables us to restore that inscription more perfectly and that, uniting it with a fragment found at Ilium and the well-known *σύνφωνον καὶ ὁμόλογον ταῖς πόλεσιν* (*O.G.I.* 444), also from Ilium, we secure a valuable document of 77 B.C. relative to the *παρήγορις* of Athena Pias. G. De Sanctis has dealt ⁴⁶⁰ with a passage in an important Lampsacene decree (*S.I.G.* ³ 591), and A. Salač has published ⁴⁶¹ a new epitaph from Cyzicus.

The decree from Prusa in BITHYNIA honouring the Macedonian general Corragus has been discussed ⁴⁶² by De Sanctis, who deals with several of the historical problems which it raises, dates it in the period 188-150 B.C. and leaves undecided whether the king referred to is Eumenes II or Attalus II. A. Wilhelm corrects ⁴⁶³ an honorary inscription (*I.G. Rom.* iii, 69) from Prusias ad Hypium.

More important is the contribution of PHRYGIA. W. M. Calder has added ⁴⁶⁴ ten further texts to his *Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum*, together with a Christian epigram from Gozlu and a fragment of Old Phrygian, and has appended notes on a number of Phrygian inscriptions previously published. To the epigraphical examples of Old and New Phrygian A. H. Sayce adds ⁴⁶⁵ some supplementary comments. B. Lavagnini has republished from an Athenian daily paper ⁴⁶⁶ four Greek inscriptions of Nacolea, ⁴⁶⁷ two of which appeared in *C.I.G.* (3819, 3820). W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and C. W. M. Cox collected ⁴⁶⁸ in 1924 forty-four inscriptions from Cotiaecum (Kutahia), twenty of which had not been previously known: with the exception of a votive to *θεὸς δαίος καὶ δίκαιος* (No. 150) and a boundary-stone (No. 134) all the new texts are epitaphs. W. M. Calder has also drawn attention ⁴⁶⁹ to the tomb at Eumonia of a Christian *βουδενής* of the second half of the third century B.C., who was also a professional athlete. An article ⁴⁷⁰ on the inscriptions of Hierapolis I have been unable to consult. A. Wilhelm has corrected ⁴⁷¹ the current reading of an honorary record from Cibyra (*I.G. Rom.* iv, 914), and A. Greiff has discussed ⁴⁷² the famous epitaph of Abercius of Hierapolis. In a further instalment ⁴⁷³ of his 'Studies in the Roman Province Galatia' W. M. Ramsay publishes thirty-eight inscriptions, most of them from Antioch (Colonia Caesarea Antiochea) or the surrounding district: of these the majority are Latin, but thirteen are Greek. D. M. Robinson comments ⁴⁷⁴ on seven of these and adds an

⁴⁵⁸ *Strabo on the Troad*, 320; cf. *S.E.G.* ii, 659.

⁴⁵⁹ *Hermes*, lxi, 112 ff.

⁴⁶⁰ *Storia d. Rom.* iv, 1, 122, 219, *S.E.G.* ii, 660.

⁴⁶¹ *Niederhain Sbornik*, 156 ff.

⁴⁶² *Riv. Fil.* lili, 68 ff. Cf. *Anatolian Studies*, 390, E. Meyer, *Die Grenzen d. Hell. Staaten in Kleinasien*, 162 f., *S.E.G.* ii, 663.

⁴⁶³ *Glotta*, xiv, 80.

⁴⁶⁴ *J.H.S.* xlv, 22 ff.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 29 ff.

⁴⁶⁶ *Harpis*, 6th Dec. 1924, O.S.

⁴⁶⁷ *Raccolta di scritti in onore di G. Lombroso*, 336 ff.; cf. *Phil. Week.* xlv, 329.

⁴⁶⁸ *J.R.S.* xv, 141 ff.

⁴⁶⁹ *Class. Rev.* xl, 147.

⁴⁷⁰ S. Soldera, *Hierapolisinschriften in Studien Tillagade J. Mjöberg*. Cf. *Glotta*, xiv, 74 f.

⁴⁷¹ *Glotta*, xiv, 70 f.

⁴⁷² *Theologie und Glaube*, xviii, 78 ff.; cf. *Röm. Quartalschrift*, xxx, 70.

⁴⁷³ *J.R.S.* xiv, 172 ff.

⁴⁷⁴ *J.R.S.* xv, 253 ff.

unpublished inscription from the same site. Calder cites⁴⁷⁵ two epigraphical texts of Laodicea Combusta, correcting the text of one of them, to illustrate the use of *ἐξαιρέτα* to denote 'expenses,' and publishes,⁴⁷⁶ in Salzberger's article above-mentioned, two epitaphs, one from Diner, the other from Iconium, where he, together with Buckler and Cox, copied or revised⁴⁷⁷ thirty-two inscriptions, ten of them for the first time, including dedications to θεὸς Ὀδινδαιεύς, Μητρὶν Ἀνδριανῆς and the θεοὶ ἀθάνατοι.

Turning to GALATIA we may note the issue of a fourth edition of E. Diehl's 'Monumentum Ancyranum'⁴⁷⁸ in the useful series of H. Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*. A. P. M. Meuwese has discussed⁴⁷⁹ some grammatical questions relating to the Greek version of the document. W. H. Buckler has made a skilful attempt to reconstruct,⁴⁸⁰ on the basis of D'Orbeliani's copy, the text of the long resolution passed at Ancyra by the Hadrianic Stage Guild in honour of its benefactor Ulpius Aelius Pompeianus, and W. M. Ramsay⁴⁸¹ and W. M. Calder⁴⁸² have commented upon certain words or phrases in this restoration. Another important Ancyran inscription (*O.G.I.* 533) has been discussed⁴⁸³ by C. Cichorius, and J. Zingerle has interpreted⁴⁸⁴ the significance of two curses found respectively at Myricium in Galatia and at Mopsuestia in Cilicia.

A. Pridik has reopened⁴⁸⁵ the question of the identity of the co-regent of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and has argued that 'Ptolemy the son,' commandant of Miletus and Ephesus, was son of Lysimachus of Thrace and Arsinoë II and must be distinguished from Philadelphus' co-regent; the latter, he holds, was no other than the later King Ptolemy III Euergetes, who ceased to be co-regent because he became King of Cyrene. Holleaux's restoration⁴⁸⁶ ἐπι[σ]τορ in a much disputed text of Telmessus in LYCIA (*O.G.I.* 55) is rejected by Pridik, who substitutes ἐπι[σ]τορ[ε]. J. Zingerle examines⁴⁸⁷ the divine name *Kakadibos*, a variant of the usual *Kakaeibos*, which occurs in a Telmessian votive. Thirteen epitaphs are published by C. Anti in his report⁴⁸⁸ on several journeys taken in the autumn of 1921 in north-eastern Lycia and western PAMPHYLIA. J. Keil has visited the village of Barsak, N. of Adalia, which he identifies with the ancient *Αυβιστῶν κόμην*, and, in addition to securing improved versions of three important inscriptions⁴⁸⁹ found by Ormerod and Robinson, has copied five unpublished texts⁴⁹⁰ of the second and third centuries A.D. The inventory of the sacred possessions of Artemis of Perga published by B. Pace (see *J.H.S.* xlv. 192) has attracted the notice of U. von

⁴⁷⁵ *Class. Rev.* xl. 38.

⁴⁷⁶ *Byzantion*, ii. 445 f.

⁴⁷⁷ *J.R.S.* xiv. 24 ff.

⁴⁷⁸ *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, Bonn, 1923. *Cl. Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 43 ff., *Rev. Fil.* lv. 567 f.

⁴⁷⁹ *Memoriae*, liv. 224 ff. For photographs of the text see M. Schade, *Klio*, xxi. 208. With the 'Monumentum Ancyranum,' of which there was no Greek translation, I need not here deal.

⁴⁸⁰ *J.H.S.* xlv. 158 ff.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.* 162.

⁴⁸² *Class. Rev.* xl. 18.

⁴⁸³ *Römische Studien*, 329; *S.E.G.* ii. 670.

⁴⁸⁴ *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 49 ff.

⁴⁸⁵ *Acta et Comm. Univ. Dorpat.* v. 3. *Cl. Klio*, xix. 500, No. 68, *Phil. Woch.* xlv. 824 ff.

⁴⁸⁶ *Cl. J.H.S.* xli. 183 ff.

⁴⁸⁷ *Glotta*, xv. 65 ff.; cf. *Mélanges Rome*, xliii. 116 ff.

⁴⁸⁸ *Mon. Ant.* xxix. 657 ff.

⁴⁸⁹ *B.S.A.* xvii. 228 ff.

⁴⁹⁰ *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 59 ff.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf,⁴⁹¹ A. Wilhelm,⁴⁹² B. Haussoullier⁴⁹³ and W. Crönert.⁴⁹⁴ Researches conducted in Lycaonia and Isauria have enabled Buckler, Calder and Cox to publish⁴⁹⁵ sixty-six Greek and two Latin inscriptions for the first time and to give improved copies of eight Greek texts previously known; among these special interest attaches to Nos. 105 and 109, both from Ak Kilisse. A noteworthy announcement⁴⁹⁶ is that of the discovery near Lystra of an altar proving the association of Hermes with Zeus in that district and so throwing light on the narrative of S. Paul's visit to Lystra (*Acts*, xiv. 12).

E. H. Dohan has published⁴⁹⁷ a bowl from Tremithus in CYPRUS, now in the University Museum at Philadelphia, bearing two almost identical votive inscriptions, and twenty-nine fragments with portions of the same or similar texts, nineteen in Greek and the rest in the Cyprian syllabic script, published by R. G. Kent⁴⁹⁸; if these dedications are rightly assigned to the first century B.C., they prove that the syllabic writing survived much longer than has been hitherto believed. The only other accession to the Greek inscriptions of the island is a fragment from Amathus copied by O. Kern⁴⁹⁹; E. Sittig has discussed⁵⁰⁰ the Cyprian word *κας* and has collected and examined⁵⁰¹ eight texts, seven of them from Amathus and one from Egyptian Abydos, in which the Cyprian syllabic script is used to represent a non-Hellenic language, drawing the conclusion that this script was originally formed for the graphic expression of the Amathusian speech.

IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

R. Dussaud has written an interesting report on archaeological work in SYRIA in spring, 1925, and has described⁵⁰² a mosaic, unearthed at Shoba (Philippopolis), representing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, in which the various figures are named. B. Haussoullier and H. Ingholt have published⁵⁰³ a dozen inscriptions discovered at Beyrout, Sidon and elsewhere. Three of these were previously known (Nos. 1, 4, 6)⁵⁰⁴; of the remainder the most interesting are a tantalising fragment of the second century B.C. from the temple of Eshmoun, near Sidon (No. 3),⁵⁰⁵ a record of the activities of a centurion in the Hauran in A.D. 76 (No. 5), an enigmatic boundary-stone from Latakia (No. 8),⁵⁰⁶ and two grave-epigrams from Sidon (Nos. 9, 11). A late Roman metal cylinder from Antioch, which served as a standard measure and bears a Greek inscription, has been discussed⁵⁰⁷ in detail by L. Borchardt and O. Viedebantt. P. Mon-

⁴⁹¹ *Litteria*, i. 8.

⁴⁹² *Glotta*, xiv. 75 ff.

⁴⁹³ *Journ. d. Savants*, 1925, 128.

⁴⁹⁴ *S.E.G.* ii. 705.

⁴⁹⁵ *J.R.S.* xiv. 30 ff.

⁴⁹⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, June 19, 1926;
Class. Rev. xl. 114.

⁴⁹⁷ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxx. 249 ff.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 256 ff.

⁴⁹⁹ *Opinion*, ii. 618.

⁵⁰⁰ *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lii. 203.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.* 194 ff. Cf. J. Vendryes, *Mém.*

Soc. Ling. de Paris, xviii. 271 ff.

⁵⁰² *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1925, 189 ff.; *Syria*, vi. 295 f.

⁵⁰³ *Syria*, v. 316 ff. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxii. (1925), 370.

⁵⁰⁴ On No. 4 see L. Robert, *Syria*, vi. 365 f.

⁵⁰⁵ For another fragment from this site see *Ibid.* vii. 6.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. *ibid.* v. 341.

⁵⁰⁷ *Arch. Anc.* xxxviii. fix. 153 ff.

ceaux's investigations at Chalcis ad Belum have led to a re-examination⁵⁰⁸ of a late metrical dedication from that site (*C.I.G.* 8712), and A. Gabriel's researches at Palmyra have resulted in the discovery of two new inscriptions,⁵⁰⁹ one of which records the erection of a colonnade. C. Diehl has published a full and excellently illustrated account⁵¹⁰ of twenty-three ecclesiastical articles—chalices, patens, candelabra, spoons, etc.—found, together with the celebrated 'Antioch chalice' and other objects now in New York, some twenty miles W. of Hama and now in private possession at Port Said: from the inscriptions engraved on almost all of them it may be inferred that they belonged to a church of S. Sergius and date from the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. An engraved stone from Emesa, now in the Louvre, bears the legends⁵¹¹ *Μεγάλη τύχη Ρόμης καὶ Ἐφέσου* and *Μεγάλοι χάριτες τοῦ θεοῦ*. Thirty-three inscriptions collected in the Azem Palace, Damascus, by the Director of the French Institute of Moslem Archaeology and Art, have been published,⁵¹² with admirable photographs, by R. Monterde. Of these texts, all of which except four were unpublished, the majority are epitaphs from Tafas, Der'a and the Hauran: one (No. 1) bears a sculptor's signature, a second (No. 11) commemorates the rebuilding of a bridge, another is the dedication of an altar to *Ζεὺς Μάναφος* (No. 33). One of these documents (No. 2) has been corrected⁵¹³ by T. Reinach, who points out that it is the epigram on the statue-base of a descendant of the Cappadocian royal line; another (No. 32) has been emended and interpreted⁵¹⁴ by W. Vollgraff. Elsewhere⁵¹⁵ Monterde edits seventeen texts (fourteen for the first time and the rest in improved versions) from Damascus and the surrounding country, including the records of the offering of several columns of the temple of Zeus Damascenus.

Turning to PALESTINE we note a building-inscription from Capernaum published⁵¹⁶ by G. Orfali and a Christian invocation from a chapel of S. Elias at Shekh Sha'le in Samaria discovered⁵¹⁷ by A. Alt, who has also made a valuable contribution to Palestinian epigraphy in an article⁵¹⁸ in which he publishes two new inscriptions—one from near Lydda, the other from Jerusalem—and corrects or comments on seven previously known texts. A similar service has been rendered by F. M. Abel, who has given⁵¹⁹ us five Greek inscriptions from Jerusalem, including the epitaph of an *ἀρχιεραγωγός* Rabbi Samuel, an interesting order,⁵²⁰ probably of Justinian's reign, from Bethlehem prohibiting sowing or planting within fifteen feet of the Jerusalem aqueduct and indicating the exact length of the Byzantine foot, a potter's stamp⁵²¹ from Aniwās (Emmaus) and a corrected version⁵²² of an epitaph from Gaza. The fifteen Greco-Syrian epitaphs found⁵²³ near Amman in Transjordan and other

⁵⁰⁸ *Syria*, vi. 342.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.* vii. 82.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.* vii. 105 ff. *Cl. Mélanges Beyrouth*, xi. 363 ff.

⁵¹¹ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1926, 202.

⁵¹² *Syria*, vi. 215 ff.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.* vii. 209 f.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.* 283 f.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 351 ff. (*Cl. Mélanges Beyrouth*, xi. 309 ff. (Aleppo)).

⁵¹⁶ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* v. 150 ff.

⁵¹⁷ *Zeits. D. Pal.-Versins.* xlviii. 393 ff.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.* xlvii. 91 ff.

⁵¹⁹ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxiv. 573 ff.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.* xxxv. 284 ff.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.* xxxiv. 581 f. *Cl. Bull. Brit. School Jerus.* iv. 42; *Rev. Bibl.* xxxv. 157.

⁵²² *Rev. Bibl.* xxxiv. 579 f.

⁵²³ *Ibid.* 119 ff.

minor finds ⁵²⁴ call for no detailed notice. The assignment of the synagogue-inscription of Theodotus ⁵²⁵ to the reign of Herod the Great has been supported by M. Holleaux ⁵²⁶; P. Roussel has challenged ⁵²⁷ the identification of the Nicanor of *O.G.I.* 599 with the man to whom, according to the Talmud, the Temple owed its most beautiful gate; L. H. Vincent has, in the course of a vigorous polemic ⁵²⁸ against the claim of Gordon's Tomb to be regarded as the Holy Sepulchre, ⁵²⁹ discussed the Greek inscriptions at S. Stephen near by; B. Ganszynieć has re-interpreted ⁵³⁰ two tablets found at Tell Sandahannah; F. M. Abel has reported ⁵³¹ on new discoveries made in two tombs at the same site and has discussed ⁵³² the geography of southern Palestine in the light of the mosaic map found at Madaba, and W. M. Ramsay has commented ⁵³³ on the Christian epitaph recently discovered at Safi, near the south-eastern end of the Dead Sea.

F. Cumont's excavations at Sâlihîyeh on the Euphrates, where lie the ruins of Dura-Europus, have been completed and we can now take stock of the remarkable finds there unearthed. J. H. Breasted's illuminating work on *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, ⁵³⁴ to which Cumont has contributed an introduction, deals in five chapters with the history of Dura, the discovery of the paintings there, the city and fortress, the temple of Zeus-Baal and its mural decorations, and discusses the painted inscriptions and graffiti. ⁵³⁵ Cumont himself has devoted an article ⁵³⁶ to an interesting dedication to Artemis found in a semi-circular theatre-like building and publishes ⁵³⁷ also the votive inscription on a clay sieve. He has also dealt ⁵³⁸ with one of the most remarkable relics which rewarded his search, part of the leather buckler of a Palmyrenian archer, dating from A.D. 250 or earlier, with a painted list of names of cities and rivers, extending from Odessus and Callatis to Trapezus and Artaxata, and of the length of the marches between them, a unique document which affords us important data for the history of ancient cartography. But most valuable of all is Cumont's definitive publication of the excavation, ⁵³⁹ which has appeared with commendable promptitude, consisting of a substantial text-volume and an atlas of 124 excellent plates. In Chapter V (p. 281 ff., Pls. CIV-CVIII) he edits the parchments, six of which are in Greek, one in Latin and one in Aramaic, together with the above-mentioned buckler (p. 323 ff., Pls. CIX-CX): the earliest, ⁵⁴⁰ a sale-contract with power of redemption, is dated 195 B.C., and is followed by a diptych comprising seven legal records, a mortgage-deed, a sale-

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.* xxxv. 180; *Pallastina Jahrb.* xxi. 14, 29.

⁵²⁵ See *J.H.S.* xliii. 37, xlv. 198.

⁵²⁶ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 6, note 2. Cf. *Syria*, v. 389.

⁵²⁷ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxvii. 79 ff.

⁵²⁸ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxiv. 401 ff.

⁵²⁹ Cf. *Times*, July 24, 1924.

⁵³⁰ *B.C.H.* xlviii. 516 ff.

⁵³¹ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxiv. 267 ff.

⁵³² *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* iv. 107 ff.

⁵³³ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1925, 51.

⁵³⁴ *Univ. of Chicago Or. Inst. Publ.* i.

Chicago, 1924.

⁵³⁵ See esp. pp. 86 ff., 101.

⁵³⁶ *Syria*, v. 346 ff. Cf. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxvii. 197; *Rev. Arch.* xxii. (1925), 171, 370 f.; *C.B. Acad. Inscr.* 1924, 100 f., 227 f.

⁵³⁷ *Syria*, v. 357.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.* vi. 1 ff. Cf. *La Géographie*, xliii. 1 ff.; *Deutsche Litatg.* 1926, 216 ff.; *Rev. Arch.* xxii. (1925), 371.

⁵³⁹ *Fouilles de Doura-Europas* (1922-1923), Paris, 1926. Cf. *J.R.S.* xvi. 265 ff.

⁵⁴⁰ *Rev. Phil.* xlviii. 97 ff.

contract, the law regulating succession in cases of intestacy ⁵⁴¹ and a list of contributions belonging to the third century A.D. Chapter VI (p. 339 ff., Pls. CXI-CXVII) gives us the discoverer's final version ⁵⁴² of the 137 inscriptions and graffiti found on the site. The author has added a very serviceable index to the parchments and inscriptions (p. 489 ff.) as well as a list of all the Greek inscriptions hitherto discovered in Mesopotamia and Iran (p. 452 ff.). ⁵⁴³

X. AFRICA

I hope to publish in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* a survey of the Greek inscriptions found in Egypt, so I may leave them unnoticed here. The Italian excavations at CYRENE have proved extraordinarily rich in epigraphical results, even if we exclude from our review the remarkable "stele of Augustus," first published ⁵⁴⁴ in 1927 after a delay which evoked protests from H. Malcovati ⁵⁴⁵ and G. De Sanctis, ⁵⁴⁶ the latter of whom also deplores ⁵⁴⁷ the appearance of some of the most interesting of the inscriptions in a foreign periodical. For it is in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy ⁵⁴⁸ that S. Ferri has given us the *editio princeps* of seven texts, enriched with critical notes by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and G. Klaffenbach. The first, ninety-four lines in length, is assigned to the middle of the third century B.C., and, despite the mutilated condition of parts of it, is of considerable linguistic value, while from the constitutional aspect it forms one of the most remarkable records bequeathed to us by the ancient world. Ferri, von Wilamowitz and Beloch ⁵⁴⁹ regard it as a royal rescript, whether of Ptolemy or of Berenice, partly confirming pre-existing republican laws and institutions, partly imposing new ones: De Sanctis, however, in a weighty contribution to the study of the inscription, argues ⁵⁵⁰ that *διδάγματα* must here mean 'body of laws' rather than 'royal rescript,' and that the document embodies the reconstitution of the state (with the consent of Ptolemy, to whom a privileged position is secured for life) by Fedelus and Damophanes (or Megalophanes), the Arcadian reformers of whose intervention we learn from Polybius (x. 22. 3) and Plutarch (*Philop.* 1). Among the paragraphs which are fairly well preserved are those relative to citizenship, the sovereign body of the Ten Thousand, the Council, the Elders, the priests of Apollo, the Generals and the *νομοφύλακες*, as well as the list of *ἀρχαί*, which terminates the document, but the chapter containing the private laws (*νόμοι ἐπὶ τῶν βίων*) is almost illegible. The second belongs to the fourth century and contains (a) a decree of the Cyrenaean people granting citizenship to the Theraeans *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*, according to the oath taken at the original foundation of Cyrene under Battus at Apollo's behest, followed by (b) the founders' oath (*ὅρκιον τῶν οἰκιστῆρων*), together with an account of its public sanction

⁵⁴¹ See *J.H.S.*, xiv. 199; *Zts. d. Savigny-stiftung*, Rom. Abt. xvi. 290 ff.

⁵⁴² *Cl. S.N.O.* II. 754 ff.

⁵⁴³ For the emblemata of Zeugma cf. *Mélanges Beyrouth*, xi. 185 ff.

⁵⁴⁴ *Notiziario Archeologico*, iv. 13 ff.

⁵⁴⁵ *Musée Belge*, xxx. 32; *Atene e Roma*,

vi. 236.

⁵⁴⁶ *Riv. Fil.* liv. 126.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 145 f.

⁵⁴⁸ *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1925, 5.

⁵⁴⁹ *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 2. 611 ff.

⁵⁵⁰ *Riv. Fil.* liv. 146 ff.

by the melting of waxen images, a procedure to which A. D. Nock has called attention.⁵⁵¹ The third text records the grants of wheat made by Cyrene during the severe famine of 329-5 B.C. to forty-three Greek states and to Queens Olympias and Cleopatra—grants ranging from 1000 to 100,000 medimni and totalling 805,000. The remaining inscriptions of the group are (i) two decrees of the Augustan age passed in honour of a notable citizen who in his lifetime and again by his will gave certain estates for public and religious purposes, (ii) a list of subscriptions given by priestesses of Artemis in the second or third century A.D. for the erection of a statue of the goddess, (iii) a late Hellenistic inventory of the sacred vessels of Apollo together with regulations for safeguarding them from theft, and (iv) a laconic order requiring the protection of some object or place from dogs and birds. U. von Wilamowitz has performed a very valuable service in appending to Ferri's publication a summary of the inscriptions, a note on their grammatical phenomena, and indexes of proper names and noteworthy words. E. Ghislanzoni has described⁵⁵² the discovery of the Agora of Cyrene, identified partly by two votive inscriptions, and the recovery of the dedication of the great colonnade: the *ρομοφυλάκειον* also has been identified, and in it were found five plaques recording dedications erected by the *ρομοφυλάκες* in honour of Ἀπόλλων νόμος, Ἀφροδίτα *ρομοφυλάκῃς* and other divinities. The most interesting of these, dating from 17/16 B.C. and referring to the cult of Augustus at Cyrene, has also been published by S. Ferri.⁵⁵³

The remaining inscriptions found in N. Africa—a potter's stamp⁵⁵⁴ on a lamp from Gurgi (Tripolitania), an epitaph⁵⁵⁵ and a leaden *bullæ*⁵⁵⁶ from Carthage, a bronze tablet⁵⁵⁷ from Tabarka (Tunisia) relating to the imperial post in late Roman times and a gem⁵⁵⁸ of uncertain provenance—are of subordinate interest.

MARCUS N. TOD

⁵⁵¹ *Arch. Rel.* xxiv, 172 l.

⁵⁵² *Rendiconti d. Lincei*, i, 410 ff. Cf. *B.C.H.* xlix, 479 f.; *Riv. Fil.* liv, 167 f.

⁵⁵³ *Op. cit.* 181. For other Cyrenaean inscriptions see *O.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1924, 290; *Rendiconti d. Lincei*, i, 409.

⁵⁵⁴ *Notiziario Archeologico*, iii, 38.

⁵⁵⁵ *O.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1926, 41.

⁵⁵⁶ *Bull. Archéol.* 1924, ccxx.

⁵⁵⁷ *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1924, 196 ff.

⁵⁵⁸ *Bull. Archéol.* 1924, 168.

A GREEK MARBLE HEAD OF A HORSE

(Pl. XX.)

By the kindness of its owner, Mrs. Chester Beatty, I am able to publish an interesting and hitherto unknown fragment of Greek sculpture which has recently come into her possession. It consists of a horse's head made of yellowish-white marble, fine-grained and slightly crystalline in texture. The surface is somewhat corroded in the neighbourhood of the nostrils and ears, and in places is encrusted with the earth in which the head has been buried. No parts are missing, though the mane, ears, and right eye are slightly abraded.



FIG. 1.—HORSE OF SELENE FROM E. PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

There is apparently a trace of red paint above the right eye. The neck has been sawn across in recent times when the head was mounted. The dimensions in metres are as follows: length, 0.355; height, 0.285; average breadth above the eyes, 0.137.

The history and provenance of the head being unrecorded, any attempt to date it must be based upon internal evidence. The broad handling and sensitive modelling suggest that the head is a Greek original of a good period, which can be fixed more precisely by certain details of construction and technique. The chief points to be noticed are the treatment of the mane, the modelling of the cheek, and the contour of the nose. The mane is cropped extremely short, and is handled freely, not with the metallic formality of archaic art. It culminates over the forehead in a sort of topknot, of which

the upper part above the binding is now lost. This feature gives us no guidance as to date, since it occurs at all periods down to Roman times; it is found,



FIG. 2.—DETAIL FROM THE MONUMENT OF DEXILLOS.
(After Brunn-Bueckmann.)



FIG. 3.—DETAIL FROM THE 'TALOS' VASE.
(After Furtwängler-Reichhold.)

for instance, on an amphora signed by Exekias,¹ on terracotta reliefs from Locri Epizephyrii,² on the chariot frieze from Xanthos,³ on Oscan paintings of

¹ In the Louvre, F 53. Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 197; Hoppin, *Handbk.* 100.

² *Ausonia*, 1908, 171, fig. 26.

³ In the British Museum, *Cat. of Sculpture*, no. 86.

the fourth century B.C.,⁴ on the bronze head in Florence known as the 'testa Medici',⁵ and on the bronze horse in the Palazzo dei Conservatori,⁶ a Roman copy of a Lysippic original. The close cropping of the mane is also in itself inconclusive. The modelling of the cheek is more helpful as a criterion of date, though again not absolutely decisive. In our head it is kept quite flat, without any indication of muscular or fleshy structure. This is characteristic of fifth-century work from the first to the last⁷; its most typical development being seen in the horse of Selene from the East Pediment of the Parthenon (fig. 1), and generally speaking throughout the Parthenon frieze.⁸ The same stylistic trait appears, possibly as a conscious archaism,⁹ upon the Mausoleum frieze;¹⁰ it is certainly imitated in archaistic reliefs¹¹ as a characteristic of fifth-century sculpture. The third noteworthy feature in the construction of our head is the contour of the nose; the prominence of the flesh above the nostrils gives the ridge a markedly concave outline, which is accentuated by the recession of the forehead above the eyes. In this respect the head differs widely from the typical fifth-century form, with its long, straight (or slightly convex) profile, as seen in the above-mentioned examples; it approximates more closely to the compact type of head, with its broad-tipped nose and full cheeks, which began to make its appearance about the turn of the fifth century and which was already well established by the first decade of the fourth, as we see from the funerary monument of Dexileos (fig. 2), who died in 394 or 393.¹² Thus it becomes evident that our head may be assigned to the half-century between the Parthenon (B.C. c. 440) and the monument of Dexileos (B.C. c. 393). The transition during this period from the long to the compact type of head is reflected in contemporary vase-painting; for instance, on the 'Talos' vase (fig. 3) by a member of the school of the Meidias painter.¹³ In sculpture a close parallel to our head, as far as concerns the modelling of the mane, cheek and jaw, may be traced in the fragmentary head from the Basis of Nemesis at Rhamnous by the Parian sculptor Agorakritos¹⁴ (fig. 4); the

⁴ *Jahrb.*, 1909, 106, pl. x, nos. 9 & 10.

⁵ *Anzeig.*, *Führer*, 276, no. 270; Milani, 174, pl. cxliv.

⁶ *Cat.* 171, pl. lxi.

⁷ For early examples see the archaic equestrian groups from the Athenian acropolis: Schrader, *Archaische Marmorskulpturen im Akropolismuseum zu Athen*, figs. 72-75; and cf. the slightly later bronze horse recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York: Curtius in *Die Antike*, 1927, pls. ix-xiii, figs. 1-3.

⁸ For other instances in contemporary sculpture see the slab in the Villa Albani: Schrader, *Phidias*, fig. 260; or the votive reliefs in Berlin (from Oropos): Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. xxvi; and Athens: Rodenwaldt, *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, fig. 58.

⁹ The treatment of the colossal horse

from the quadriga is quite different: *B.M. Cat. of Sculpture*, no. 1002, pl. xvi; the cheek being full and rounded, in accordance with the usual practice of the mid fourth century.

¹⁰ E.g. *B.M. Cat. of Sculpture*, no. 1015.

¹¹ E.g. the Hadrianic relief in the British Museum: *Cat. of Sculpture*, no. 2206.

¹² In the Kerameikos at Athens. Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, 1158; Bruun-Bruckmann, pl. 438.

¹³ In the Jatta collection at Ruvo, no. 1501: Furtwängler-Reichhold, I, 38/39; Pfuhl, fig. 574.

¹⁴ In the National Museum at Athens: *Ephem. Arch.*, 1891, pl. viii² (1 view); *Jahrb.*, 1894, pl. lii¹⁴; Svoronos, no. 207, pl. xlii; Kjellberg, *Attische Reliefs*, figs. 21 and 23.

short mane with the topknot, the flat cheek, the simple generalised treatment of the jaw, the compact planning of the skull, and (as far as the damaged condition of the head allows us to judge) the concave profile of the nose all present striking analogies to the Chester Beatty head. Unfortunately it is not possible to date with any certainty the activities of Agorakritos at Rhamnous; he is known to have been the favourite pupil of Phidias,¹⁵ and to have entered his studio at an early age—in other words, he was presumably about



FIG. 4.—HORSE FROM THE BASIS OF NEMESIS AT RHAMNOUS.

fifteen some time between 460 and 432. Kjellberg,¹⁶ partly upon the evidence of the architectural remains of the temple, decides in favour of an early date for the sculptures and fixes it between 446 and 432; but judging by the style of the heads he illustrates it is hard to believe they can be earlier than 420–410, just as the horse's head seems definitely later than the head from the Selene group. We shall probably not be far wrong, therefore, in ascribing the Chester Beatty head to a member of the school of Phidias working in the last two decades before 400.¹⁷

ROGER HINKS.

¹⁵ Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvi, 17.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 114.

¹⁷ For permission to reproduce copyright

photographs I am indebted to Mr. H. B. Walters, Prof. Kastriotis, and the Verlagsanstalt F. Bruckmann.

ICARUS

(Pl. XXI.)

UNTIL quite recently, only one vase was known with a picture of Icarus. The publication of the black-figure fragments from the Acropolis added a second. I am putting a third to these, possibly a fourth and even a fifth.

And Daedalus? He appears on two of the Icarus vases and on one of the possibles. And Hauser has tried to show that the builder on a Laconian cup from Samos is Daedalus constructing the labyrinth.¹ Hauser may perhaps be right; but that the winged figure on a vase in the Louvre is meant for Daedalus, I do not find it so easy as others find it to believe.

This vase is a black-figured kotyle of the sixth century, probably still the first half²; it is reported to have been found at Tanagra; the style is a provincial travesty of Attic, and the fabric no doubt Boeotian. On one side, Theseus and the Minotaur: on the other, a helmeted horseman at the gallop, and behind him, in the air, a winged male, bearded and dressed in a short chiton, flying in the same direction. Rayet, who first published the vase, took the flier for Daedalus, and the rider, from whom he conceives the flier to be escaping, for either Minos or Talos.³ That the rider is not at the flier's heels, but well ahead, does not seem to have perturbed Rayet. And yet, in pictures of burglars escaping from policemen, one surely expects to find the policeman behind the burglar and not in front of him? Of course, even if the subject were not Daedalus escaping from Minos or Talos, the flier might nevertheless be Daedalus. But winged and shirted figures like this, male and often bearded, are common enough in the sixth century: and sometimes they fly behind horsemen; for example, on two Laconian cups of the second half of the century, one in Petrograd, the other in the British Museum.⁴ These figures cannot all be Daedalus: and ours has no better claim than any other.⁵

The word Daedalos is written against a grotesque figure on a well-known Apulian calyx-krater in London⁶; but Daedalos here has generally been thought

¹ *Jahreshefte*, x. pp. 10-12.

² *Gaz. arch.* 1884, Pl. 1-3 (Rayet): after this (part of A), Darnberg and Saglio, s.v. Minotaurus, Fig. 3070 (Durrbach), and (B) s.v. Daedalus, Fig. 2270 (Pottier): B only, *Münchener Arch. Studien*, p. 277 (Schmidt).

³ *Gaz. arch.*, 1884, p. 6: reported by Pottier in Darnberg and Saglio, s.v. Daedalus, p. 6: the figure is accepted as Daedalus by Robert (*Heldensage*, I. p. 364), Heug (in Parry-Wiesowa, s.v. Ikaros, p. 988),

and Hauser (*Jahreshefte*, x. p. 12).

⁴ *Jahrbuch*, 1923-4, Pl. I. (Waldhauser): *A.Z.*, 1881, Pl. 13, 2 (the figure is not female, as stated by Walters, *H. M. Cat.* ii. p. 40, B 1: see phot. Mansell 3691, left).

⁵ See below, p. 232.

⁶ F 269: *El. cé.* i. Pl. 36; now *H. M. Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*,² p. 27, whence Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen*, p. 142: phot. Mansell. See Preller-Robert, I. p. 183.

to be a by-name of Hephaistos; for the subject is taken from the adventures not of the hero but of the god. But there is another Apulian vase, and a good one, which may represent Daedalus: a fragmentary calyx-krater formerly in Professor Arndt's possession and now in the collection of Dr. Lunsingh Scheurleer



FIG. 1.—FROM A KRATER IN THE LOUVRE.

at the Hague: Professor Arndt kindly allowed my wife to photograph Reichhold's drawing, and Dr. Scheurleer has generously authorised the publication. At the feet of a king inscribed Minos (the first letter is all that is missing), a Pl. XXI, 1. white-haired man kneels in the attitude of entreaty: on the ground beside him is the suppliant's emblem, the filleted olive-branch. Beside the king stands



FIG. 2.—FRAGMENT IN ATHENS.

what must be his consort, and her gesture implies that she is well-disposed towards the suppliant. Higher up on the vase, Apollo, with his cithara, sits by his tripod; and Hermes with his caduceus, and what is more, an olive-branch in his hand; for it is he who has escorted the suppliant, shepherding him as he shepherded Orestes. Is not the suppliant Daedalus; the moment his first meeting with Minos, and with the queen in whose emotional life the

great artist was destined to play so important a part? The only difficulty is the presence of Apollo, who does not figure in what of the story we know; but in most tragedies—and the vase-painter will have taken his cue, like many of his colleagues, from a tragedy—Apollo causes the action; he was a great god in Crete; and there was a close connection, from early times, between Crete and Delphi.⁷

Was Icarus depicted on the Scheurleer vase as well as his father? One would expect so; but if he was, nothing remains of him, for after Daedalus the fragment ends. Or stay, something does remain: part of a second suppliant branch, to the left of the other, shows that Daedalus was not alone.⁸

Whether Icarus appeared on the Scheurleer vase or not, he certainly appears, with his name appicted, on a much earlier work, a black-figured vase from the Acropolis of Athens,⁹ which cannot be later and is probably somewhat earlier than the middle of the sixth century, and is therefore much older than any extant mention, for Icarus, as it happens, and as Robert points out,¹⁰ is not traceable in literature until the Cretans of Euripides.¹¹ Only small fragments of the vase remain: of the figure inscribed Icarus, the lower edge of the short chiton, and both legs with winged boots on the feet. Without the inscription one would have guessed Hermes, or rather Perseus. The posture sometimes means running,¹² but here as in Perseus it probably means flying—rendered as a running through the air with both feet off the ground.

Other fragments of the same vase were found at the same time. It had more than one row of figures. Graef thought that the Icarus fragment belonged to the same row as those which represent the Birth of Athena¹³; Robert thought it more likely that while the Birth of Athena occupied the principal row, the figure of Icarus, which is on a smaller scale than the other human figures, belonged to a lower, narrower band.¹⁴ A fresh examination, made at my request by Professor Buschor and Dr. Walther Wrede, to whom my thanks are due, shows that although Graef's description is not free from errors, it may be correct in the point that concerns us: the Icarus quite possibly belonged to the same row as the Birth of Athena.¹⁵

⁷ See especially Swindler, *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo*.

⁸ Two other Apulian vases, a volute-crater in the Louvre (*Mon.*, 1856, Pl. 9) and a fragment in Taranto (*Nespolia*, i. p. 138) represent an aged suppliant at the feet of a king; but there is nothing to show that the king is Minos, or Daedalus the suppliant.

⁹ Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Pl. 28 and p. 67, No. 601.

¹⁰ *Heldensage*, i. p. 384.

¹¹ Schol. *Ar. Frogs*, 549 (Süss, *Die Früchte des Aristophanes*, p. 57). The exact date of Euripides' *Cretans* is unknown, but Zieliński shows, from the metre of the new fragment (conveniently in Hunt's *Frags.*

menta Tragicæ Papyraceæ) that it was probably not late (Zieliński, *Tragödien des Libani*, p. 226).

¹² E.g. *Münchener Arch. Studien*, p. 291 (Achilles).

¹³ *Akropolis Vasen*, p. 67.

¹⁴ *Hermeneutik*, pp. 349-55.

¹⁵ Dr. Wrede writes: 'A careful examination of the Acropolis fragments by Professor Buschor and myself gives the following result:—Graef, Pl. 28: there is nothing against putting the Icarus fragment *4* in the same row as the Birth of Athena, fragments *5*, *6*, *7*, *8*, *9*, *10*. The size of the pattern-band below, the thinning of the vase downwards, and the curvature, all agree. Of the animal fragments, *11* probably belongs to the same row as *4*, and the two bits of

Graef conjectured the vase to have been a hydria, and a hydria is more probable than Robert's crater. Like many of the dedicated vases from the



FIG. 3.—KOTYLE IN THE OPPENHEIMER COLLECTION: REVERSE.

Acropolis, it is a more elaborate piece than usual, and has no exact fellow among vases preserved complete; but most of its features find some sort of analogy

bear might be from the same animal. The animal-row *g* is somewhat bigger; and another reason why it cannot be the same as the row of *h* and *i* (the row of dots being interrupted by the inscription) is that the decoration below it cannot be reconciled with that below *h-k*: the plastic fillets above and below the inscription are somewhat thicker than the fillet below *g*; besides, in *h-k* the lower of these fillets is immediately followed by the black varnish with red lines, whereas in *g* the lower fillet is followed by a reserved band with a line of thinned varnish on it, and then by black with red. Fragment *l* remains. It cannot belong either to *g* or to *h-k* because there is a red line above the animal on *l* and none

above the other animals: then comes the plastic fillet and above it remains of black varnish on clay ground—which does not appear elsewhere in this position. So we are led to suppose a third animal-row. The back of *l* has flaked away, so that curvature and thickness cannot be determined.

Curvature and thickness of the fragments point to the following sequence, beginning above: (1) figure frieze, (2) animal frieze *h-k*, (3) inscription, (4) animal frieze *g*, (5) animal frieze *l*. The remains to the left of Icarus I take to be part of a shield standing on the ground. The question hydria or amphora cannot be answered. The wheel-marks on the back do not help in placing the fragments.

among the hydriae of the middle or the second quarter of the sixth century,¹⁶ and the feminine noun *hydria* is one of those that would suit the *hiera eimi* of the epigramma. How many figures there were in the Icarus picture there is really no means of saying. One might expect it to have contained at least one other figure—Daedalus. If the vase was a *hydria*, the Icarus might have been placed under the back-handle as a little picture in itself, and the proximity of a handle would account for the smaller scale: or Icarus might have been under one of the side-handles, with Daedalus under the other; for small winged figures are common enough under handles¹⁷—though not, it is true, in *hydriae*.

The vase was dedicated to Athena. The name of the dedicator has perished; but he uses the expression *ergōn aparchēn*, and that he was a potter or a vase-painter is quite possible. The Birth of Athena was a suitable subject for a gift to the goddess; but he may have attributed a special significance to it. He was one of those who, in the words of the Athenian poet and statesman, 'by knowledge of the works of Athena and ingenious Hephaestus gather their livelihood with their hands'¹⁸; and the Birth of Athena is a subject which, like the Birth of Erichthonios, and the Making of Pandora, unites Athena and Hephaestus. There was space for another subject: he chose the story of Daedalus—the great craftsman, pattern of all those who make daedal things—and his intrepid son Icarus.

The next oldest of the certain representations of Icarus is on a red-figure fragment, part of a *kylix*, in Oxford, which I reproduce, by permission of Dr. D. G. Hogarth, from a photograph by Mr. George Chaundy. Icarus is having his wings attached. He stands with his arms down in front of him. His right wing is on: he looks round at Daedalus, who is seated on a rock behind him holding the other wing, and preparing to fasten it to his son's left shoulder. There is hardly any relief-contour. Brown is used for the minor markings on wings and on bodies—nipple, elbow-crease, and several details, hardly visible in the photograph, on the legs. Brown lines are also employed for another purpose, to mark off the nearer from the more remote: thus the relief-lines of neck and shoulder against wing, of the upper part of the arm against the breast, of the left wing against the right and against the knee of Daedalus, of Daedalus' garment against his thighs, are all accompanied by an edging of brown.¹⁹ The clay is pink in section, but yellowish on the surface.

¹⁶ For the dotted plastic rings, compare B.M. 876 (Torr, *Rhodes*, Pl. 6, A; phot. Mansell); for the use of a floral pattern on the neck, the same; for the triple dot-row, Vienna, *Oest. Mus.* 220 (Maaser, p. 22), etc.; for the use of a pattern on the upper side of the mouth, late Corinthian *hydria* in Berlin, 1657 (Fölmer, *Die Hydria*, Pl. 5, 63), etc.; resolution of the mouth into plastic fillets, common, but no exact parallel to the mouth of our vase; no parallel for the plastic fillet on the foot, but a red line

frequent in this place, and the detachment of the lowest part of the foot as a fillet fairly common.

¹⁷ E.g. neck-amphorae Berlin 1713 (*Mon.*, 3, Pl. 24, 2) and 1714 (*ibid.*, I; Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, Pl. 14, a), Brussels A 714 (*Corpus*, Belgium, iii. Hs. Pl. I. 1).

¹⁸ Solon, l. 49-50: *ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου ἐκαστέονα ἔργα βούλ' ἔπεισεν*.

¹⁹ See Hauser and Zahn in F.R. III. p. 189, note 63.

The height of the fragment is 169 millimetres. The work is not Attic but Italiote, and belongs to a group which I have discussed elsewhere: the group of the Sisyphus vase in Munich, the Leucippid vase in Ruvo, the Peleus vase in the Czartoryski collection.²⁰ The date will be not far from 400.

The composition must have contained at least one other figure, to balance Daedalus: the analogy of the later vase in Naples, to which we shall presently turn, suggests that this was Athena: not, one would suppose, standing, but



FIG. 4.—FROM A KYLIX IN THE OFFENHEIMER COLLECTION.

more probably seated like Daedalus, or perhaps rather leaning forward, with one foot raised and set on a rock, and the chin propped on the hand, watching; as in the Bologna crater with Perses and Polydeutes.²¹

The attitude of Icarus is expressive. The weight is on the right leg, the left is bent at the knee: as the head turns the arms come forward, and the hands were doubtless lightly clasped, or one laid over the other lightly. It is an attitude familiar to us from the sitting-room. The three-quartered face is

²⁰ F.R., Pls. 43-44: *Bull. Nap.*, n.s., 2, pl. 4, and *Mon.* 12, Pl. 16: *Mon.* 12, Pl. 15, *Annali*, 1885, Pl. F, and from photo-

graphs *Vases in Poland*, Pl. 32. See *Vases in Poland*, pp. 66-8.

²¹ *Annali*, 1881, Pls. F-G.

of great beauty: these three-quartered faces are favourites with the Italiote vase-painters, and have often been compared with those on Italiote and Siceliote coins. But it is not only the head that is three-quartered: the essence of the whole figure is the strong twist on the axis. Statues like that do not occur till the fourth century.²² Something of the sort appears in Attic vase-painting of this period and later, but the modelling seems flatter and less plastic: so in a dancer on a squat lekythos in London.²³ Our Icarus makes one think of the maenad on the great volute-krater, from Ceglie, in Taranto, and still more, perhaps, of a humbler work, an Italiote kotyle of the same general class as ours, but somewhat later, which I reproduce by the kind permission of its owner, Mr. Henry Oppenheimer, once more from photographs by Mr. Chaundy. The general view shows that the shape is like that of the Oxford kotyle, with the slight incurve towards the mouth. On the reverse, three athletes, one

FIG. 3. holding an aryballus by its carrying-thong, another a strigil, the third a plain walking-stick. On the obverse, a maenad dancing or starting to dance; a silen, who holds a depleted wineskin, encourages her; she turns her eyes towards

FIG. 4. Dionysos, who stands watching her, his head bound with an embroidered fillet, cantharus and thyrsus in his hands. The photograph foreshortens the lower part of the vase a little; but the composition is clearly imperfect, and the merit of the figures unequal. The best, and fine, is the maenad; the satyr is very well; the Dionysos not.

Later than all these vases, even the Apulian krater in the Hague, is the well-known volute-krater in Naples.²⁴ On the obverse, Perseus pursued by the Gorgons. On the reverse, two scenes, unconnected. Below, two warriors, a man and a youth, contending with a curious sea-monster, a kind of male Scylla: no doubt, as Heydemann says, Menelaos, his companion, and Proteus. Above, Daedalus fastening the wings on his son. I reproduce the old drawing in the *Museo Borbonico*, for it is fairly accurate as far as the bare subject goes.

FIG. 5. A better notion of the style can be obtained from Sommer's photograph, but most of Daedalus and part of Icarus have disappeared in a high-light. The vase is so placed at present in the museum (or was when I last visited Naples) that a new photograph seems hardly feasible.

One might perhaps think, from Gargiulo's drawing, that this was an Apulian vase of the usual kind—Apulian of the same group as the Persians vase or the Minos fragment in the Hague. It is not: it is an incompetent and hideous imitation. The date must be near the end of the fourth century: the work is probably provincial: there are one or two other vases in Naples of the same fabric and style.²⁵

²² See Riezler in Brunn-Bruckmann, text to 378.

²³ E 695 (F.R., Pl. 78, 3).

²⁴ 1767: from the Basilicata, not from S. Agata as Heydemann states (see Macchiolo, *Röm. Mitt.* 26, p. 189); *Mus. Borb.* 13, Pls. 67-9: the Daedalus group, after this, Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Daedalus, Fig. 2281: the Proteus group, Engelmann, *Bilder-Atlas zur Odyssee*, Pl. 4, 22: phot.

Sommer 11059. The technique is the ordinary red-figure, not 'red-painted' as Robert states (*Heldensage*, i. p. 365, note 5).

²⁵ One of them is 3252 (*A.Z.*, 1883, Pl. 11). In quality these two are even more abject than the vase signed by Lasmos in the Louvre (Millin and Reinach, p. 86: Hoppin, *B.-f. Vases*, pp. 449 and 451) and the Cawdor vase in the Sease Museum (Cook, *Zeus*, i. Pl. 5).

Icarus stands with one wing on, looking round, and Daedalus holds the other wing: so far, as at Oxford; but both attitudes are different. To the left stands Athena, directing the work as her gesture shows. To the right, on a somewhat higher level, sits a woman with a phiale in her hand: Heydemann thinks that this is Krete, who perhaps figures in another Cretan scene, the Death of Talos on the Attic volute-krater in Ruvo.²⁰ Above, pediment and bucrane point to a sacred precinct; to the right, a small tree, and on the ground the wings of Daedalus and his hammer. On the extreme right, an Ionic column with a small figure of Nike on it, holding what seems to be a mirror. Between Icarus and Athena an open box, no doubt containing artist's materials. On the



FIG. 5.—VOLUTE-KRATER IN NAPLES.

seat beside Daedalus, Gargiulo's draughtsman has placed what looks like a pair of ostrich-eggs, and Heydemann himself mentions something lying on the edge: I had not noted anything on the chair, and Dr. Mingazzini, who has been kind enough to re-examine the vase for me, writes that what Heydemann speaks of was due to the restorer, and has now, after washing, vanished: the seat, as one might expect, is unoccupied.

Lastly, there is the thing between Icarus and Daedalus. Heydemann calls it an anvil. But it is in two parts. The lower part is like an altar, and, considering the pediment and bucrane, might be one; in any case it is serving as a stand. The upper part is an object known from other representations on

²⁰ See *F.-R.* I. p. 199.

vases: it is the mouth, neck, and shoulder, inverted, of a wine-amphora of the pointed kind used for storage.²⁷ Such fragments might answer various purposes: on a squat lekythos in Carlsruhe²⁸ and a hydria with the same subject in the British Museum,²⁹ they seem to be flower-pots; on the centaureomachy cups in Boston and the centaureomachy pelike in Barcelona,³⁰ they are used as we use the necks of whisky bottles—for weapons in scuffles; on the Naples vase, the mouth is no doubt blocked up, and I dare say the improvised basin may contain the famous fish-glue which Daedalus invented and fastened the wings with. The same object appears, once more, on the peculiar vase from Gioia del Colle near Bari³¹: just what the picture represents is still uncertain; but the pot-neck is evidently, as in the Daedalus vase, a workman's implement.

Most of the other representations of Icarus have been enumerated by Robert and others.³² Roman wall-paintings show him flying or falling. Roman sarcophagi give the story in full—the making or fitting of the wings, and the fall. The making or the fitting is the subject of other Roman reliefs in marble or clay; and is a favourite device on Italic and Roman gems from the third century before Christ to the second after, perhaps, as Furtwängler conjectures, because of that connection between Daedalus and Campania which is immortalised in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.³³ The only Icarus in the round is a bronze statuette which was formerly in the Somzée collection: Furtwängler assigned it to the fourth century.³⁴

One would expect representations of Icarus to be commoner in the Renaissance than they are. Reinach gives one or two fifteenth and sixteenth century examples in his list of classical subjects in the earlier painters.³⁵ In the seventeenth century I know three pictures of the wings being fitted: one by Van Dyck, in the Spencer collection at Althorp³⁶; another by a certain Francesco Rosa, Genoese, in the Gatchina Palace near Petrograd.³⁷ Both pictures are half-lengths, Icarus in front, Daedalus, subordinate, behind: Titian's *Flora* is an early example of this type of picture. Mr. Ashmole tells

²⁷ Hauser identified the object in the Carlsruhe vase, the London hydria, and the Centaureomachies (*Jahreshefte*, xii. p. 91 and F.R. iii. p. 91): see also Zahn in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *gastral*.

²⁸ F.R., Pl. 78, 1 = *Jahreshefte*, xii. p. 91.

²⁹ E. 241: *Burlington Cat.* 1888, p. 19 = *Jahreshefte*, xii. p. 96, Fig. 56: now, Cook, *Zeus*, ii. Pl. 6: Hauser's explanation of the picture seems to have escaped the notice of Cook.

³⁰ F.R., Pls. 128-9 and iii. p. 54.

³¹ Gervasio, *Bronzi arcaici e ceramiche geometriche nel Museo di Bari*, p. 52: after Gervasio, *Arch. Anz.*, 1924, p. 147, Fig. 27 (Lehmann-Hartleben). Gervasio thinks that the scene is laid in a potter's workshop, and he calls the *gastra* a basin with a foot and two handles—which in a sense it is. The *gastra* and the vessel to the left recall

the squat lekythos in Carlsruhe (F.R., Pl. 78, 1); but the artist at the *gastra* is using an object which reminds one of the millers on a Megarian bowl in Athens (*Eph. arch.*, 1914, Pl. 1: see Vasakis, *ibid.*, pp. 50-57; Karayiannis, *ibid.*, 1917, pp. 151-7, and Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, pp. 306-3). Lehmann-Hartleben sees preparations for a repast.

³² Robert, *Holdingsage*, i. pp. 364-5.

³³ *Antike Gemmen*, iii. pp. 239-40.

³⁴ *Sammlung Somzée*, p. 57, no. 85.

³⁵ *Rev. arch.*, 1916, p. 43.

³⁶ E. Schaeffer, *Van Dyck* (in *Klassiker der Kunst*), p. 82: Schaeffer mentions two replicas or copies of the Althorp picture. A drawing of the same type, attributed to the painter himself, was sold at Sotheby's in June 1927.

³⁷ *Starkie Gods*, July-Sept. 1916, p. 27.

me of a third Icarus, attributed to Caravaggio, in the collection of Captain Hanbury at Shobden in Herefordshire.

Back to the fifth century. Let us try if we can find another Attic Icarus. A small red-figured lekythos, of about 470 B.C., in New York, has a picture of a winged youth in a curious position, with a bit of the left foot and the whole lower part of the right leg, including the knee, cut off by the ground-line. The figure is either rising out of something or sinking into it. Which? A case could be made out for rising—were it not for the bird above, which is flying almost straight down. If the painter had wished to represent rising—say a cosmic Eros rising from the primeval slime—he would surely have put the bird head upwards. The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography: the figure is sinking: into what, the painter has not stated. But sea is as likely as earth, for neither earth nor sea would the artist think it necessary to indicate:

FIG. 6.



FIG. 6.—FROM A LEKYTHOS IN NEW YORK.

when Gaia or Persephone rise from the earth or Kaineus is rammed into it, when Eros rises from the sea with Aphrodite in his arms, the element is left, as often as not, for the spectator to supply.²⁵

The eye is not closed in death; but why should it be? Icarus did not smash, he drowned. That the wings are not rendered differently from natural wings need not astonish us, seeing that vase-painters seldom give any indication where mask, for example, ends and flesh begins²⁶; and if the wings are neither detached nor deteriorated—early artists prefer to show things perfect as long as they possibly can.

Mr. E. P. Warren had already thought of the youth as Icarus: only the

²⁵ E.g. F.R., Pl. 137 (Gaia); *Att. Vases in American Museums*, p. 130 (Persephone); *Corpus*, Louvre, iii. 1 & 2, Pl. 6, 5 (Kaineus); Benndorf, *OSV.*, Pl. 38 (Eros).

²⁶ E.g. *Att. Vases in Amer. Mus.*, p. 168 = F.R. iii. p. 135; F.R., Pls. 142-4.

arguments are mine. And of these, the use of the bird to point the meaning of the picture may seem to require illustration. One might refer to the birds which accompany horsemen on Corinthian or Chalcidian or Attic black-figured vases: they are not, I think, mere filling, or filling-substitutes: they were also intended, at least originally, to heighten the notion of speed.

ὥς εἰ πτέρων ἢ νόημα.

And in the Louvre kotyle with which we began, may not the winged genius be a sort of intensification of the usual bird, hinting that the rider is wing-swift and swift as the wind?



FIG. 7. — FROM A LEKYTHOS IN LOWER HOUSE.

Dispute that; but in the Phineus cup,⁴⁰ do you mean to say that the bird over the head of the foremost satyr is only there because the satyr, stooping, left a vacant space?

ὀρθὴν κελεύεις, ᾗ τὸ δένδρον φαίνεται;

I waited to watch you linger
With foot drawn back from the dew,
Till a sunbeam straight like a finger
Struck sharp through the leaves at you.

And a bird overhead sang *Follow*,
And a bird to the right sang *Here*;
And the arch of the leaves was hollow,
And the meaning of May was clear.

⁴⁰ F.R., Pl. 41.

But why labour these earlier works? Here is a second *lekkythos*, found with the first, and by the same painter.⁴¹ The subject is Danae and Perseus in the daedal chest. The water is not indicated, and the chest is doubtless still on land. But the artist has contrived to tell us that it is bound for the open sea. Against the open lid he has painted four birds—seagulls. FIG. 7.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

⁴¹ By the same hand, a third small *lekkythos* in the Louvre (Thracian woman running), and a fragment of a *loutrophoros* in Louvain (*Mélanges Holleaux*, p. 136: prothesis).

NOTE ON *J.H.S.*, XLVII, p. 92.

THE attribution of the plate Berlin 2099 to the Menon painter was first made by Mr. H. R. W. Smith. As far as I remember I had omitted both this plate and the London one in my original manuscript for the reason that the attributions, communicated to me by Mr. Smith in a letter, had not been published by him. When the report of his paper on the painter came over in the *American Journal* I added the plates, and gave him credit for the one attribution but not for the other. I think this may have been due to a misprint in the report of his paper, Berlin 2199 instead of 2099, which may have misled me, at a hasty reading, into thinking that the attribution, by this time familiar to me, was not his originally but mine: but in any case I wish to apologise for my carelessness and to express my regret for my omission.

J. D. B.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1926-27

THIS article follows the arrangement of its predecessors, and includes an account of all the excavations in Greek lands of which I have received particulars since my last report was completed. As the total number of undertakings concerned amounts to more than thirty, some of my summaries have inevitably suffered in the process of compression, but I trust that nothing of outstanding importance has been passed over.¹

AMERICAN SCHOOL

At Corinth, during the spring and summer of 1926, the American School carried out excavations in four different areas :² at the Theatre, on Acrocorinth, on the Temple hill and on the Lechaion Road. An account of Dr. T. L. Shear's work at the Theatre appeared in my last report.³ On Acrocorinth, Dr. C. W. Blegen examined the highest point of the rock in search of the Temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias. Though many worked *poros* blocks were found, it is disappointing that not one was *in situ*, and cuttings in the rock and numerous architectural fragments are the only indications that there had been a Greek building on this site, which was occupied later by a Byzantine church. The small objects found include Geometric, Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, three terra-cotta figurines, two pieces of marble sculpture and a fragmentary inscription. Dr. Blegen also examined the Upper Peirene spring, and cleared the two well-chambers, which proved to have three deep rock-cut passages for collecting water. The roof of the well-house was found to be a barrel-vault in cement of most interesting construction, dating from the third century B.C. The well was approached by a flight of twenty-five steps leading down through a screen built of re-used blocks and consisting of a pier between two *antae*, supporting a small pediment. Above the spring were the foundations of a building for the protection of the vaulted roof, and many tile-fragments from it.

The excavations of 1925 to the south-west of the archaic Temple were continued in 1926 and extended to the north side, thus bringing the whole precinct down to the classical level. A number of architectural fragments came

¹ I wish again to express my gratitude to all those who have supplied me with information concerning their unpublished excavation results, and for the gift of photographs in addition I am indebted to the Director of the French School, Mdlle. S.

Papospiridia, and Mr. S. Casson.

² Cf. a summary in *A.J.A.*, 1926, p. 361 f., and Dr. Hill's report, *op. cit.*, 1927, pp. 70 ff.

³ *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 223 f.

to light, as well as part of the Roman pavement; one of its slabs was found to be part of a Greek inscription of the fourth century B.C.

East of the Lechaion Road, the Peribolos of Apollo was cleared down to the later classical level. Among many architectural fragments a few pieces of the inscribed frieze came to light. The construction of the buildings probably dates from the first century A.D., though there were later re-modellings. In the east colonnade of the Lechaion Road, to the north of this Peribolos, a pit was sunk yielding quantities of sherds, Corinthian, Protocorinthian, Early Helladic and Neolithic. An Early Helladic burial also was found. In another pit further to the north was discovered a child's grave of the Geometric period, built of four slabs set on edge with a covering slab. The skeleton lay with knees drawn up, with right arm at the side and left hand on the breast, and on the right arm lay an amphora of simple design. In the same area were found remains of Greek walls—perhaps a stoa—and a late Greek pavement of pebbles and cement. Excavations in the colonnade to the east of the Lechaion Road showed that it was of early Roman date and largely built of re-used Greek material. At later periods four terra-cotta water-conduits had been laid down successively, running from south to north, with branch pipes and filter-jars. The latest seems, from the evidence of the coins, to have lasted on till late in the third century of our era.

Further clearing was carried out at the north end of the Lechaion Road. At the end of the east side-walk was found the corner of a large marble-revetted base, but there was nothing by which it could be identified. From this area came part of a base inscribed with the name of Gn. Bablius and a large piece of the capitals from the Temple of Apollo. Another interesting inscription that will shortly be published has, on the narrow face, a Greek text of the fifth or fourth century B.C. On the broad face is a Latin metrical inscription celebrating the feats of a Roman admiral, Hirrus, the chief exploit being the transferring of his fleet across the Isthmus. This is believed to date from ca. 100 B.C.

A preliminary report of the excavations of 1927,* the expenses of which were defrayed by gifts from Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Morgan and a few other private donors, shows that work was continued at the north end of the Lechaion Road, which was entirely cleared as far as the modern Museum. In removing the mediaeval walls built over the road several marble blocks were found, dressed to represent native rock, four of which bore inscriptions, as follows: (1) *Capitolinus*, and on the other face *Capitolinus Mons*; (2) *Aventinus Mons*; (3) *Collis Viminalis*; (4) *[Es]cu[ri]nus Mo[ns]*. From the method of dressing it appears that each block supported some object with a more or less circular base, and though only the four inscriptions have been found, the discoverers reasonably assume that they formed part of a group representing the seven hills of Rome.

Further excavation was carried out also at the Odeum, which was first discovered in 1907. Lying between the Fountain of Glauke and the Theatre,

* Kindly supplied by Dr. B. D. Meritt (who has succeeded Dr. Blegen as Assistant Director of the American School).

its identification is made certain by Pausanias's description. The *cavea* has been completely cleared, as also the eastern half of the Orchestra and stage-buildings. The seats are partly hewn out of the rock and partly supported on concrete vaults, and were apparently carried over vaulted Parodos-passages. The entrance was from the east by a flight of steps which led, on the north, to the stage-buildings and, on the south, to a passage that encircles the *cavea*. This passage has a vaulted roof bearing traces of mosaic. Another passage, of similar construction, runs along the north side of the stage-buildings, which seem to have been about 63 metres long, with a large door in the centre of the north wall. Other walls of the stage-building are poorly preserved, and often only traceable in their rock-cut foundation-trenches. Work in the Orchestra showed that the Odeum had been much re-modelled, and that the Orchestra itself had been extended northwards over part of the foundations of the earlier stage. In one place, under the later cement floor (probably dating from *ca.* 200 A.D.), an opening came to light in the centre of the earlier stage, giving access to an underground passage, cut in the rock, which leads northwards under the stage-buildings to a point just outside the central door of the northern passage, where it ends in a vertical shaft like a well, and could be reached by foot-holes cut in the sides of the shaft. Where the passage runs underneath the stage-buildings, the lowest course of the wall above is corbelled on either side so that the second course acts as the roof of the passage, and from this we may assume that the passage formed an integral part of the original structure. From the well the passage continues in a north-easterly direction with man-holes at various points, and has been cleared for a distance of 25 m. In the later re-modelling of the Odeum it seems also that the lower rows of seats in the *cavea* were cut away to leave a vertical scarp about 2.40 m. high between the lowest row of seats and the Orchestra-level, and it is probable that these alterations were made for the sake of gladiatorial shows as in the Theatre.³ Further excavations are needed in order to determine the nature of the vaulted passage round the *cavea* and of the façade of the *cavea*, which seems to be built up of a succession of piers resting on the native rock.

As to the dating of the Odeum, there is every reason to believe that this is the 'covered theatre' built by Herodes Atticus (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* II, 1, 5). If this is so, the building must have stood for a very short time in its original state, for the re-modelling seems, on the evidence of the coins found under the later floor, to date from the end of the second century A.D. After this the building seems to have remained in use till its final destruction at the end of the fourth century.

During 1925, and again in the winter of 1926-7, the American School carried on its work at Nemea,⁴ first under the direction of Dr. Blegen, and later under that of Dr. Meritt. East of the Temple of Zeus a long narrow foundation was uncovered, measuring 40.58 m. \times 2.42 m. It runs parallel to the façade of the Temple and can certainly be identified as the great sacrificial altar. The stone of the upper structure had been all removed, but fragments of moulding

³ Cf. *J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 210.

⁴ Cf. *A.J.A.*, 1927, p. 223.

were found which must have formed the upper edge of the altar-table. The area between the altar and the Temple was examined and a thick layer of masons' chips was found, which on examination showed that much of the material used for the Temple must have come from an earlier temple and been re-cut.

A curious feature of the fourth-century Temple is a semi-subterranean crypt in the rear of the *cella*. Its pavement is at a level 1.98 m. below the bottom of the orthostat blocks of the *cella*-wall. It seems to have been left open and was approached at the north-east corner by a flight of five steps; but there is no obvious clue to the purpose of this chamber. Under the floor of the Temple, at various open points, were found the remains of an earlier structure with a heavy foundation wall running east and west.

The building south-west of the Temple, containing the bath which was cleared in 1924, is now more clearly identified as the Palaestra, and the large building eastward of it as the Gymnasium. Both clearly belong to one architectural scheme.

The position of the Stadium, about 500 m. south-east of the Temple, was verified, and a water-channel was discovered, with basins at intervals, as in the Stadium at Epidaurus. Further excavation showed that there had been no built seats along the side of the course: the hillside had merely been hollowed out and the earth thrown out to raise the lower ground to the north.

Excavations were also carried out on the hill of Tsoungiza, west of the village of Heraklion, where a prehistoric settlement came to light. On the top of the hill were found Early Helladic house foundations. One of the houses, which seems to have consisted of a single room, contained eight *pithoi* and nine millstones, another contained as many as twelve *pithoi*. On a terrace on the north side of the hill was a rich deposit containing, in stratified sequence, remains of the three successive stages of the Bronze Age. There were no remains of E.H. houses, but the remains of a M.H. dwelling came to light, and at a higher level the foundations of several L.H. II. houses. On the south slope of the hill a very interesting cave was cleared. It was filled with earth, large pieces of fallen *poros*, and quantities of sherds—all of them Neolithic. Other finds were obsidian blades, a celt of black stone, a bead of serpentine, and a seal of whitish stone, bearing on one side an incised checkerboard pattern and on the other a peculiar character like a Δ dotted in the centre. There were quantities of animal bones, but the most important relic was a fragment of a thick skull which, with some remnants of other human bones, lay on the floor of the cave at its deepest point. These are probably the earliest skeletal remains of man yet found in the Peloponnese.

During April and May, 1927, Dr. Blegen resumed his excavations of early tombs on the slopes west of the *Argive Heraeum*,⁷ and found and cleared no fewer than seventeen Mycenaean chamber-tombs, which yielded a mass of new and important material. In date they range from an early group, contemporary with the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, down to the period of transition from

⁷ Cf. *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 226 f.

Mycenaean to Geometric. All are of the well-known form, consisting of *dromos*, doorway and chamber hewn in rock, but there is a considerable variety in details. One had a large rectangular side-chamber, another had three—one at the right, one at the left and another at the back. One contained a *larnax* with the bones of an infant, apparently the first instance of a *larnax* in a Mycenaean tomb on the mainland of Greece. The skeletal bones were in a much-decayed condition, but from a careful study of the number of skulls and disposal of the bodies it was concluded that each of these seventeen tombs had contained on an average ten successive interments.

The objects found, which were numerous and varied, included a large quantity of beads of paste, carnelian, amethyst, etc., three carved gems, and remains of ivory combs and ornaments. The bronzes include a dozen knives and daggers and other implements and weapons; among the terra-cottas the most noteworthy were two small chariots, each with two horses and two riders. The pottery was especially plentiful and well-preserved, and more than three hundred vases were recovered, which illustrate the whole development of Mycenaean ceramic art from start to finish.

On a terrace below the main row of tombs important remains of the Geometric period came to light, including a very remarkable piece of bronze relief, which the discoverers date to the seventh century B.C. It is not unlike the style of the tripod-plaque from Olympia, and shows two panels, each containing two figures, divided by a fine guilloché ornament. The other bronzes found near it were unimportant in comparison, but a small cup of early Corinthian pottery with an incised inscription, and a terra-cotta head of a sphinx are of unusual interest.

Eutresis.—No particulars have reached me concerning Miss Goldman's work at this site in 1926 and 1927, but I am informed by her that a full report on the former campaign is being printed in the *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum* of Harvard University, 1927.

BRITISH SCHOOL²

Besides the principal excavation by the School at Sparta, Mr. Heurtley carried out a short campaign on the small prehistoric site at Boubousta in Macedonia, and at Knossos two pieces of work, originally initiated by Sir Arthur Evans, were carried out under the auspices of the School, namely, the exploration by Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, of the British Museum, of a Minoan Cemetery on the hillside which overlooks the Palace from the east, and that by Mr. H. G. G. Payne of some Geometric tombs north of the Palace, at Zafer Papoura. Accounts of these four pieces of work follow.

(1) *Sparta.*—This year's campaign at Sparta, though on a smaller scale than the previous three, was productive of quite satisfactory results. Once again our activities were divided between the Theatre and the Acropolis. At

² Reprinted, as regards Nos. 1, 2 and 4, from the *Annual Report* of the British School at Athens, 1926-27, with unimportant omissions. For this privilege I

am indebted to the Committee of the School. Mr. Forsdyke has kindly supplied the account of his own excavations.

the former, the full length of the two retaining-walls has now been cleared: of the eastern wall, the portion left undug, from the foot of the outer staircase to the outer angle, has now been laid bare, and it was found that the marble facing-blocks were preserved for eight courses above the *torus*-moulding. They did not return past the angle, for the retaining-wall on this side was of *poros* blocks, with a strongly marked rustication, and the east face of the angle-blocks of marble was rusticated to match. The *torus* is not continued along this return beyond the angle-block. At a late Roman date the paved space east of the foot of the stairs had been built over with houses whose floor-level, with remains of pavements of *opus sectile*, lay flush with the *torus*-moulding of the wall, i.e. about three feet above the original level of the *parodos*-pavement.



FIG. 1.—SPARTA. THE NYMPHAEUM.

The only find of interest in this area was a small, roughly finished head of Athena, inspired by the school of Pheidias, but itself of Imperial date.

The further exploration of the western retaining-wall has now made it certain that there was no external staircase to correspond to that on the east, and it seems unlikely that it was ever marble-faced for its whole length. In front of the bastion, which is only about two-thirds of the depth of that carrying the eastern staircase, we soon came upon a massive brick structure, which we fully cleared and found to be a great fountain-basin built of brick, with a semicircular internal apse at each end; its length was 13.35 m., its breadth 2.36 m., and the maximum depth one metre (Fig. 1). The floor, paved with large bricks, was undamaged, and had a slight slope towards an escape-pipe at the east end. In removing the fallen brick and rubble from the basin we found various marble sculptures, most of which must have fallen from the ledge

on the north side; these included a seated lion, in the attitude, but lacking the dignity, of that at Chaeronea, which was perhaps of late Hellenic workmanship, but had been pierced later through the back of the neck so that the mouth might act as a water-spout, a finely rendered boar, in bluish Laconian marble, charging with legs outstretched, the lower half of a poor figure of a tritoness, and a small headless statuette of Herakles, in a cloak. On the ledge were two marble seats, without backs, *in situ*; one which occupied the central position had in front a spirited relief of an eagle with a snake in its beak, the other had a palmette ornament on the front and each side. A similar seat was found fallen, in the basin, and another came to light outside it to the south. In front of the south wall we found *in situ* two rectangular marble troughs, of different sizes and patterns, fed by small channels from the main basin, and to judge by the traces of channels, there had been originally five in all. Both had been broken, and mended with iron rivets, and one bore an inscription round its edge in letters probably not later than the first century of our era, giving the name of the donor. This rested on an inverted architrave-block, and the other on a statue-base inscribed with a dedication which cannot be earlier than the reign of Caracalla; it is a duplicate of an inscription already known (*I.G.*, V, 1, 547).

The style of construction supports these indications of late Roman date for the fountain, for it is built of brick, on a poor rubble footing, with a thin marble revetment. The bricks are largely re-used material bearing the stamp of the Skenotheke. Outside the basin, to the west, is a small paved space, which was perhaps originally roofed over. No sign was found of steps leading up from this court to the ledge on which were the seats; if access was intended, the steps must have been of wood. It is plain that this was a Nymphaeum of a modest sort, with a back wall rising above an open basin, and the presence of sculptures on the ledge in front of it is a typical feature of such buildings. We found no trace of pipes bringing the water, and perhaps there was originally some simple kind of aqueduct carried on piers in front of the retaining-wall. The lion's mouth may have been one of the supply-spouts.

East and south of the stage-area we found extensive remains of buildings, even more deeply buried than was the stage itself. A complete clearance of them is unlikely to be remunerative, and it is highly doubtful if anything of Hellenic date would come to light. To the south of a late Roman street 3.25 m. wide running behind the stage we followed for more than nine metres a fine wall of massive ashlar nearly 1.50 m. thick; east of this lay a mosaic pavement, also of late Roman date, with a geometric border, and from the west face of the wall sprang a row of flying buttresses spanning a narrow space which separates it from an adjacent brick wall. In this space, nearly two metres deeper than the mosaic, lay a brick pavement, which extended southwards as far as the inner face of the late Roman fortress-wall.

In the Theatre itself we uncovered some more of the front row of seats by means of a deep trench which followed the curve on which they are set out, and enabled us to clear also the gangway behind, and the water-channel in front of them. The front seats were damaged but not displaced, and the foot

of another staircase was revealed at the point calculated (No. VII on the general plan, *B.S.A.* xxvi. Pl. XIV). Seven more inscribed blocks, forming the west side of the channel, continue the series found here previously, and give us yet more names of Ephors and Nomophylakes of the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Other inscriptions found in this region include a fragmentary list of Spartan names (ca. 400 B.C.) and a statue-base, bearing a Greek inscription in typical Constantinian lettering, in honour of a certain Popilinus Optatianus, Proconsul of Achaia. He is known hitherto from literary sources only, as a versifier whose flattering effusions won the heart of the Emperor Constantine and secured his own recall from exile and advancement to high office.

During the second half of the season attention was also paid to the remains of a bathing establishment (or large villa or gymnasium?) some fifty metres south of the Nymphaeum already described. A large mosaic pavement with a variety of geometric motives had already been partly cleared here in 1925, and the building was found to extend north, east and west of this, but no other room had a mosaic floor. The structure shows traces of rebuilding, and the plan at the east end was very intricate; but enough was cleared to prove that the whole system dates from the Imperial period, and perhaps is all as late as the third or fourth century; even if fully uncovered neither plan nor incidental finds would be of much interest. In digging deep below the foundations of the north wall at one point we came upon a large quantity of fragments of Hellenic pottery, apparently local domestic ware of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., but we have no reason to suspect that any important, or early, building occupied this area.

On the Acropolis, the first task was to complete the excavation of the building found last year, which partly underlies the back wall of the *cavea*, at a deep level. The building proved smaller and more ruinous than had been expected, and the south wall had entirely, and the east wall largely, disappeared. The building must have been a small sanctuary, with a superstructure of mud brick on a cobble foundation, and presumably with architectural decoration of terra-cotta. From the scanty remains of the original votive deposit, in contrast with the later accumulation of mixed filling, it seems that its origin can hardly go back beyond the seventh century, for there was no specifically Geometric layer. The absence of votive objects inscribed with any other name than that of Athena leaves us with the conclusion that this was a subsidiary shrine of that Goddess, less ancient and famous than the Brazen House lying further up the hill.

The small objects found were again numerous and interesting. The archaic terra-cotta heads and *protomai*, mostly of local fabric, show a wide range of type; a male helmeted head of bold style contrasts with the female heads, which much predominate. The bronzes were unimportant, except for a superb nude female statuette, probably Laconian work of the late sixth century (though it has also certain Ionian affinities); the attitude is puzzling, for the right hand is held forward and slightly raised, but holds no object, and the left, held out level from the elbow, is palm downwards. The rarity of the type and the fineness of the preservation make this one of the most

valuable finds from our four seasons' work on the Acropolis. Though we found no more of the 'Leonidas,' numerous interesting fragments of sculpture in Parian marble must be mentioned, including two pieces from a small frieze of lions attacking bulls, and a piece of a two-sided relief, curved in section, which shows the remains of a head of a helmeted Athena to the right, and on the reverse, part of a lion's mane. In front of her is the faintly incised inscription *Ἡποδῆμα*. This is similar in style to a fragment found last year, also carved on both sides; the curve of the new bit suggests a shield, of an unusually thick section, too heavy to have been held by a statue, but possibly



FIG. 2.—SPARTA. BRONZE STATUETTE.

free-standing. Special mention must likewise be made of an archaic inscription, on a sadly damaged stele, which was found high up in the clay layer just inside the cavea wall. This contains the remains of a hymn to Athena, written boustrophedon, in an alphabet probably earlier than 500 B.C., on three sides of the stele (the fourth is missing). No complete phrase has survived after the opening invocation *Πάλας Ἀθανείας θεῖαν ἑστάρη Διός*, but enough is preserved in the twenty-three lines of the text to show that it was metrical throughout. It would be rash to suggest a definite attribution of authorship for such a fragmentary poem, but we must not overlook the possibility that it may be either from an otherwise unknown hymn to Athena by Aleman, or conceivably from the hymn which (as we know from Pausanias) Gitiadas, architect of the Brazen House, composed in her honour. With the completion of the

excavation of this votive deposit between the Chalkioikos and the Theatre, our main task on the Acropolis has been brought to a satisfactory end. That little or nothing of Hellenic date would be found by systematic exploration further east was confirmed by further trials made this year. Behind the centre of the *cavea* Byzantine and Roman walls alone came to light; and still further east, on the ridge terminating in the Byzantine church explored in 1925-26, extensive tests showed that the presence everywhere of collapsed Byzantine masonry, with no certain promise of classical remains beneath it, would make further excavation both dangerous and unprofitable.

(2) *Boubousta*.—The party consisted of the Assistant Director and Mrs. Heurtley, Miss H. L. Lorimer and Mr. R. W. Hutchinson. The excavation began on June 6th. The site proving to be smaller than was anticipated, and the deposit of no great depth, it was possible to clear the whole in ten days. Boubousta lies in Western Macedonia, midway between Hrupista and Lapsista, on the right bank of the Haliakmon. The discovery of the site was due to Dr. Pelekides, who, while excavating Hellenic remains here in 1926, discovered the prehistoric pottery.

The settlement, which was only about 32 m. \times 8 m. in area, and could not have consisted of more than a few huts, was built in and around a small dip in the hillside. In the dip, the depth of the deposit averaged one metre with two occupation-levels; on the edge of the dip, 30 cm. with one occupation-level. The settlement stood on a fairly steep slope, and its lower side coincided with a line of rough terrace-walls and a cistern, built in Hellenistic times.

Apart from two well-preserved hearths, the remains consisted almost entirely of pottery, which, to judge by analogy with finds elsewhere and from a few imported sherds, should be assigned to the period ca. 1500-1000 B.C. This local pottery is all hand-made (with the exception of two pieces), painted ware being far more common than plain. The fabric of the former is good, the surface usually brick-red, light buff, or grey, well smoothed and slightly polished. The decoration is applied directly to the surface in matt-paint, black, purplish or red. The most common shapes are jugs with cut-away necks and open bowls with splaying rims and two horizontal lugs with vertical holes. Beakers with two high-swung handles also occur, as well as a local variety of the wish-bone handle. The decoration, which is strictly rectilinear, is extremely rich and varied. It is concentrated on the necks and shoulders of the vases, the lower parts being invariably left plain. Among the motives occur carefully-drawn meanders, Maltese crosses, broad zones filled with chequer-work patterns of alternate latticed and open diamonds and belts of hanging triangles, hatched and closed. A stylised bird and a stylised tree also occur. There is only one example of a spiral (pothook), and that associated with a triangle in triple outline.

Imported sherds are one Minyan, one Mycenaean (L.H. III a), one sub-Mycenaean and a few Proto-Geometric (?). A bronze pin of Early Geometric type was also found and an iron socketed spear-head.

"The affinities of this pottery are with that class of pottery, matt-painted and plain, which flourished in Central Macedonia in the Third Period (ca. 1650-1150 B.C.), where the shapes and decorative motives can be traced back

through their earlier stages to a remote past: the matt-painted technique replacing an earlier incised technique. This pottery, it now seems, spread gradually from Central Macedonia westwards along the whole length of Pindus (Pateli, Boubousta, Thermon), southwards as far as Mt. Oeta (Lianokladhi III), and about the same time into Thessaly (hand-made jugs with cut-away necks, painted and plain, and painted from the Volo district), and perhaps, as Frankfort has recently suggested, eastwards into Anatolia.

"Of the features which distinguish it in its original home, i.e. jugs with cut-away necks, wish-bone handles, and among decorative motives, the pot-hook spiral, two are found in combination at all the sites, and at Boubousta and in Thessaly all three.

"There can be little doubt that these features have racial significance, and suggest that we have to do with nomad tribes of common stock, of which the centre of diffusion was the Vardar valley, about the middle of the second millennium B.C. Here a remnant of the same people remained in occupation until the fourth century B.C. The other sites, after short periods of occupation, were abandoned, some earlier, some later. Only in North Thessaly a secondary centre of diffusion at the beginning of the Iron Age is indicated. Here, the local style, reinforced by kindred Macedonian elements, fused with sub-Mycenean and produced the Proto-Geometric style of Marmáriani, Volo and, at a somewhat later date, Hálos. How long this style continued to flourish in Thessaly is not yet certain. That the Boubousta folk contributed to its formation is clear from the large number of wheel-made jugs with cut-away necks in the Volo Museum, decorated with painted motives identical with those at Boubousta.

"On the conclusion of the excavation a tour was made in Western Macedonia with a view to discovering other sites. One prehistoric site was identified at Armenochóri near Florina, which, to judge by the pottery, belongs to the Monastir group. At another small mound at Vladovo, between Vodená and Lake Ostrovo, primitive hand-made sherds were collected, but the type could not be determined."

(3) *Knossos: Minoan Tombs*.—The excavation of the Mavro Spelio Cemetery at Knossos was completed during May and June.

The cemetery, which lies on the hill opposite the Palace of Knossos across the river, was discovered by Sir Arthur Evans last year, and was partly explored by him then with my help. We found six chamber-tombs containing scanty remains of Middle and Late Minoan burials. This year I thoroughly trenched the area and found sixteen more tombs. They are nearly all chambers cut in the soft rock, but many have two or more compartments. No burials were found intact, and there was very little pottery or other furniture, but the fragments found show that some of the tombs were in constant use from M.M. II b to L.M. III b, and they were probably kept clear of pots and valuable offerings during that period.

The most important finds are:—

Tomb III.—A large libation vase ('filler') of pointed oval shape, made of veined marble, the neck and mouth a separate piece.

Tombs III and VII.—Three crystal magnifying lenses of modern form: small discs with one convex side.

Tomb VII.—A clay statuette of a woman holding up a child; three gold earrings and a gold finger-ring.

Tomb IX.—A gold finger-ring, bezel inscribed with nineteen letters of the Minoan Linear Script arranged along a spiral line, in the manner of the Phaistos disc.

Tomb XVII.—A small cube of iron in a deep pit inside the tomb, which contained earth, bones and pottery of exclusively M.M. II b date.

I also excavated the Mavro Spelio itself, a small cave in the same slope as the tombs, and found that it was a water-sanctuary. It consists of an inner spring-chamber and an outer apartment hewn in the rock with a shallow reservoir in its floor bordered with seats. Rough stairways lead to the entrance of the cave, which probably had a built façade.

The excavation will be fully and finally published in the next *Annual* of the British School. [E.J.F.]

(4) *Knossos: Later Tombs.*—Mr. H. G. G. Payne excavated during May four tombs of the early Greek period, and one of the fifth century. The first and most important of these was a chamber tomb on the west side of the Zafer Papoura hill, about three-quarters of a mile from the Palace, close to the site of a Geometric tomb excavated some years ago by Sir Arthur Evans. It had contained a great number of vases, probably over a hundred, of the Proto-Geometric, Geometric and early Orientalising styles. The majority were broken, as the roof had collapsed, but enough remains in many cases to permit of satisfactory reconstruction. In addition to types already known, the earlier series includes new varieties, which it is hoped will throw light both on the evolution of the Geometric style in Crete and elsewhere, and on the relations of Geometric to late Mycenaean art. The Orientalising vases include very fine examples of a polychrome fabric of which one or two specimens were found in the tomb excavated by Sir Arthur Evans. Some of the new examples show the style in a fuller stage of development than anything from Knossos hitherto known, and are remarkable for their bold design and brilliant colouring of red and dull black on a white background—a technique which, like some of the patterns, suggests connexions with Cyprus. In the same tomb were found Rhodian and Protocorinthian vases; the best piece is an *oinochoe* of the developed Protocorinthian style. Another tomb in the immediate neighbourhood yielded nothing of interest, but two tombs at Fortezza, a village a short distance north of Knossos, provided a great quantity of early pottery similar to that already mentioned. The fifth-century tomb near by yielded some fragments of Attic pottery and a limestone palmette from a stele.

FRENCH SCHOOL

At *Delphi*, during the year 1926, the French School did no further excavating, devoting all their time to preparing the publication of the site. An important study of the frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians was carried out by M. Messelière and M. Replat, who have removed the plaster setting and re-arranged the various fragments in their correct relationship to one another.⁹ At *Delos*, the temple discovered the year before,¹⁰ built into a bastion to the east of the Sacred Lake, has been further examined by the Greek Ephor, M. Pippas. From the style of the building, and from the re-used blocks that are largely used in its construction, he considers that it cannot be dated earlier than the end of the second or perhaps the beginning of the first century B.C. Excavations to the north of this sanctuary revealed the foundations of various buildings and several inscriptions were found. Among these were a list of the ephebes in the archonship of Diotimos (126/5), other ephebe dedications, and an inscription forbidding the bringing of animals into the sanctuary of Apollo—excepting those for sacrifice—under threat of curses and penalties. An inscribed marble stele of great topographical importance was found *in situ* on its base of granite. It is a decree forbidding anyone to throw down earth or ashes near the sanctuaries of Dionysos and Leto. It dates from the year 202/1 and must have been erected near the altar of Dionysos. It stands to the south of the sanctuary in the bastion, and it seems probable that the sanctuary of Dionysos was situated where the later Dionysiac chapel was built,¹¹ while the sanctuary of Leto may be the temple found built into the bastion (supposed last year to be a temple of Artemis Soteira), though there are several points against this identification. Excavations were also carried out on the rocky promontory to the north-west of the Bay of Phourni. Since the discovery here, in 1924, of the bilingual Greco-Phoenician inscription,¹² it had been thought that this must be the sanctuary of some oriental gods, but last year's work proved almost certainly that it was sacred to Asklepios. The excavations were conducted in April by M. Chapouthier and in August by M. Replat. Three structures were uncovered: to the north lay the foundations of a temple, and enough of the marble architectural members were found to show that it had been Doric prostyle with four columns, measuring 15.75 m. \times 6 m. The work is careful and probably dates from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. Beside the Temple was a paved room, 10.49 m. \times 8.50 m., with well-built walls with a double facing of granite standing in parts to a height of three courses. To the west of this room lay the remains of a small *propylon*. Numerous fragments were found belonging to what seems to have been a marble throne; one of the fragments bears a metrical inscription stating that the priest Nikon, son of Demonous, dedicated the *zoanon* to Asklepios in honour of his priesthood (early third century). Since it is known, from the building-accounts, that

⁹ Cf. *Rev. Arch. ancien et moderne*, 1927, pp. 135 ff. The results of this study are shortly to be published in *B.C.H.*, 1927.

¹⁰ Cf. *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 238.

¹¹ Cf. *B.C.H.*, 1907, pp. 498 ff.

¹² *Syria*, 1925, p. 270.

the Asklepieion was near the sea, and that it was a large sanctuary comprising many buildings, temple, *oikos*, propylaea and peristyle, there can be no doubt that the identification of the site as the Asklepieion, confirmed by the finding of other ex-votos, is a correct one.

At *Mallia*, in Crete, work has been continued under the direction of M. Joly and M. Flacelière. The south side of the great central court was cleared, revealing a wall of dressed stone 20 m. long, with two shallow recesses 0.10 m. deep on its north side which appear as corresponding projections on the south side; there was no trace of a door, but the west end of the wall has been



FIG. 3.—MALLIA: STONE TABLE OF OFFERINGS.

destroyed. South of this wall were six communicating rooms, all at a level slightly lower than that of the central court, and communicating with the rest of the Palace only at the western end where there is the gap mentioned. There were traces of stucco on floors and walls; one of the rooms has a quadrangular central pillar, another has a doorway divided by a pillar. Painted sherds were found in quantities, all of the L.M. I. period, the most common design being a spiral with a central dot. At the south end of the west side of the central court a small terrace, 1.40 m. square, was found, approached by a wide stairway on the north side. On the terrace was firmly set a circular stone of 0.90 m. diameter which has a central deep hole and 34 shallow sinkings round the edge, one slightly larger than the rest (Fig. 3). The stone seems to combine the libation table with a table for solid offerings and should prove an important piece of evidence in the study of Minoan religion. The terrace

with its circular table is undoubtedly a sanctuary, for on the west side is a sort of bench which must have held cult objects. To the west of the terrace and stairway lay a series of small rooms with thick walls which were probably intended to carry the stairway as it went higher.

Excavations in the northern part of the Palace showed that the extent of the site is far greater than was at first supposed. The two walls cleared the year before, and running obliquely to the general lines of the Palace, now prove to be part of a square room with a doorway and porch.¹² This building lies to the south of a large interior court, and, though the walls lie obliquely, the paving is level with, and runs in line with, the paving of the court, which is oriented on the lines of the Palace, and it would seem that this building is some addition made while the Palace was still in use. The large interior court, 19 m. long, which lies to the north of this oblique building, is bounded on the east by a portico of four circular columns and a series of rooms with stuccoed walls, which yielded quantities of plain pottery. On the north side of the court lay five magazines with some of the jars still *in situ*. The thick, unbroken wall to the north of this line of magazines seems to be the northern limit of the Palace. This area was rich in small finds: three dagger blades and two chisels of bronze, a steatite vase and two lampstands, one of steatite, the other of a greenish stone. In the eastern part of the Palace two magazines were further cleared, and beyond them a heavy wall was found, running north and south, which is in all probability the outside eastern wall of the Palace, for no trace of any building was found to the east of it.

M. Chapouthier has continued his work in *Samothrace*, and in *Thasos* M. Bon has discovered a new gateway in the city wall to the east of the harbour. One of the *parastades* of the gate is decorated with a bas-relief 0.85 m. high, dating from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. It represents a woman in a chariot drawn by two horses which are led by a man. The two figures are evidently deities, but in the absence of any attributes they cannot be identified. M. Bon also explored the west part of the island, and, near the village of Potamia, found the remains of a watch-tower of the third or fourth century B.C. Other towers were found at Phari and Theologos.

For the excavations at *Pherai* in Thessaly, in which members of the French School collaborated with Dr. Arvanitopoulos, see below, p. 256.

GERMAN SCHOOL

The activities of the German School comprised a campaign at Tiryns (for the first time since the war) in the autumn of 1926, which was renewed in the summer of 1927, under the direction of Professors G. Karo and Kurt Müller and Dr. E. Kunze; a resumption, under Professor E. Buschor's leadership, of the work at the Heraion in Samos; some supplementary researches by Dr. G. Welter-Mauve on the site of the Aphrodite-temple in Aegina; and, under the auspices of the German Institute, further excavations by Dr. A. Brückner

¹² Cf. *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 240.

in the Dipylon area at Athens.¹⁴ Work at *Tiryns* took place mostly in the lower town, below the citadel, and resulted in the discovery that the Late Mycenaean settlement extended almost as far as the wall of the building which was till recently an agricultural College. No traces of a town-wall came to light, nor were any remains found of houses belonging to the period represented by the Geometric burials, several of which were found sunk deep into the Mycenaean stratum. Excavations to a deep level nearer to the citadel revealed a stratified sequence of deposit extending from the Early Helladic to the Late Mycenaean period, with house-foundations, in some cases lying directly under one another. Two of the houses of the latter epoch deserve mention, as they had hearths in the middle of the main room in each paved with potsherds, as those found by Dr. Blegen at Korakou. One of these houses, situated close under the east Gallery of the citadel, is of impressive size, with its Megaron measuring internally about 11.5 by 7 metres; down the centre ran a row of wooden supports. From the Early Helladic period the few wall-foundations were accompanied by numerous remains of pottery; the Middle Helladic period yielded, among other remains, three graves; but plainly the era of greatest building-activity was the Late Mycenaean period.

Trial excavations on the citadel were limited to small undertakings, to shed light on certain points in its history. It was ascertained that whilst the site must have been, in all probability, fortified in Middle Helladic times, the oldest of the great fortress-walls now visible were erected first in the beginning of the Late Mycenaean period. East of Court XXX¹⁵ a rubbish-pit was discovered, containing debris thrown out from the temple described by Frickenhaus (*Tiryns*, I) and confirming his view that it was situated on the citadel itself. In addition to very numerous vase-fragments dating from mature Geometric down to Early Orientalising, special mention must be made of two clay shields painted on both sides, and of several great Gorgon-reliefs of the same material. Of earlier finds the most noteworthy was a small Early Helladic stone vase, with a carved animal's head.

At *Samos*, the principal discovery was that of a prehistoric settlement immediately north of the great Hera-temple. Pottery associated with it had also come to light at various points in an area extending 150 metres east of the temple, in the previous campaign, and the new finds show that it reached at least a hundred metres further west; its full extent has yet to be determined. The lowest level revealed houses of the so-called 'Megaron-type,' mostly built in adjacent 'complexes,' and dating, to judge by their finds, from the end of the Early Cycladic period. To the Middle Cycladic period belong some much-destroyed foundations; and to an early date in it an undisturbed *pithos*-burial. The *pithos*, which was more than a metre high, with three feet in the shape of handles, was built around with a small wall, and covered with two large stone

¹⁴ From a report kindly supplied by Professor Buechler (since reprinted in *Gnomon*, iii. (1927), pp. 188 ff.), supplemented by details of recent results at *Tiryns* furnished at my request by Professor

K. Müller (up to the end of July, 1927), and an account by Dr. Brückner of his work at the Dipylon.

¹⁵ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Tafel II.

slabs; against the mouth, closed with a slab, was a sort of niche, with the tomb-furniture, while the *pythos* itself contained only a child's skeleton and a leaden axe. To the Mycenaean period belongs, perhaps, the massive wall which is cut through at the middle of the northern foundation of the temple by the N.-W. corner of the paved courtyard which preceded it;¹⁵ some single-roomed dwellings are built up against this wall, and other houses of more elaborate type must be contemporary with them. Against the north wall of the paved court a much-destroyed tumulus was located, originally about six metres in diameter, which presupposes that at this point the town was already in ruins when it was thrown up. The tomb-chamber which it contained revealed evidence of two interments, and the contents included Late Mycenaean Bügelkannen, a three-handled *pyxis*, a pendant with an eight-petalled rosette and a silver bead. A short, built *dromos* led to a rectangular niche. The prehistoric strata as a whole yielded a large mass of vase-fragments and many complete vessels.

The archaic sanctuary in the form of a Peripteros, mentioned in the last report,¹⁷ which is orientated N.-S. to the Sacred Way, proves to be older even than the earlier temple of Hera, and apparently than the paved court. To which deity it was dedicated is still uncertain. It had six columns at the ends and apparently twelve at the sides, to judge by the position of the south *antae* of the *cella*, which lie opposite the eleventh column counting from the front. The intercolumniation of the longer sides is somewhat less than that of the ends. The most striking feature is the position of the entrance-wall of the *cella*, which (assuming twelve columns at the sides) is placed slightly south of the centre of the sides, and leads to a chamber measuring ca. 9 × 6 m. Just in front of the door, in the Pronaos, which is thus of unusual depth, were foundations of (presumably) an altar. Enough is left of the plan of this temple to show that it is entirely different from that of Doric temples, and it must be the forerunner of the great Ionic dipteral structures. The erection of the western colonnade involved the destruction of some votive monuments flanking a street running N.-S. to join the Sacred Way at this point; a bronze cauldron, for instance, with a stone cover, was found carefully buried near its original basis. Of other archaic buildings, and streets flanked by votive offerings, more traces were revealed, and the number of important objects found has increased considerably: mention must be made of the marble statue of a young woman of very similar style to the Philippe of the Geneleos monument (cf. *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 242), but not belonging to that group; the lower leg of a colossal Apollo of archaic date and superb workmanship; fragments of the figure of a cow; and several late-archaic fragments of *poros*-reliefs representing delicately-draped ladies, a cock-fight, a couch and a lion-skin. Among sculpture of Hellenistic date which the site has already yielded, three important pieces have now been published¹⁸; the latest campaign produced an addition, in the form of a well-preserved male head of the first century B.C. (?).

¹⁵ *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 242; I regret that this was, owing to my carelessness, referred to there as a 'stuccoed' instead of a 'paved' courtyard.

¹⁷ *J.H.S.*, *loc.*; *Gnomon*, ii, p. 122.

¹⁸ *Stephanos*, *Th. Wiegand zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht*, Pl. VII, *Röm. Mit.*, 1920, Pl. I; *id.*, 1923-24, Pl. V.

The quarter of the city east of the Geneleos-base adjacent to the Sacred Way and its branches was also further explored, with the result that two periods must now be distinguished, the earlier associated with the archaic votive-offerings, and the later which dates from after their overthrow; to the second belongs the elaborate system of water-channels draining the streets E. and W. of the Geneleos-base and the S.-E. cross-street with its peristyle-houses. To this period also belong Exedrai, fountains, and houses with mosaics and wall-paintings. This quarter in turn fell into decay when the drainage system was abandoned and ruined. To this late period is to be attributed the repaving of the Sacred Way in the impressive form visible to-day.

At *Aegina*, Dr. Welter-Mauve, as a result of further investigations, has cleared up the question of the entrance to the earliest citadel (at the N.-W. angle of the temple) and of its relations to the Middle Helladic extension; and has more clearly defined the eastern limit of the Late Helladic settlement. He has also accomplished the thankless task of rearranging the contents of the Museum at Aegina—not before it was needed.

The excavations in the *Kerameikos* at Athens were resumed for the first time since 1916, with the aid of a generous donation from Mr. G. Oberländer (of Reading, Pennsylvania); Dr. A. Brückner, who took charge of the work on behalf of the German Archaeological Institute, thus returns to a familiar field in which he has long since won distinction. Work was carried on at the *Pompeion*, situated between the Dipylon and the Eridanos, where deep cuttings revealed several tombs belonging to a Late Mycenaean cemetery, and above them were typical Dipylon burials with pottery of the developed Geometric style. At the *Pompeion* itself buildings of two periods have now been distinguished, the first apparently belonging to the fifth century and destroyed (it is suggested) by Sulla, and the second, of which the average level is 80 cm. higher, ascribed to Hadrian. The date of destruction of the latter may be deduced from a study of the debris which covered it to a depth of three metres. This consists of a thick layer of reddish potters' clay, which contains a great quantity of potters' refuse-vase-fragments, terra-cotta figurines and lamps, the latter including many 'wasters,' and large pieces of coarse clay from potters' ovens. Similar deposit, including lamps with the names of the same makers as now found, came to light in previous excavations outside the line of the ancient city-wall, which proves that the stretch of wall between Dipylon and Eridanos had ceased to exist, and that potteries had grown up on both sides of its line, to fall victims ultimately to the barbarian invasions. This ceramic material consequently reflects the last stages of the Pagan era and the beginnings of Christianity, in close connexion, and with a richness which will assuredly illuminate the history of art and civilisation from the end of the third to the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, as regards the products and export-trade of the potters at the *Kerameikos*.¹⁹

¹⁹ For fuller particulars see *Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos II.*, comprising articles by Dr. Brückner and Professor Buschor,

in *Alt. Mitt.*, 1926, pp. 128-49, which reached me when this article was practically finished.

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE

The numerous enterprises undertaken by Greek archaeologists, partly at the expense of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry concerned, and partly at that of the Archaeological Society, include many pieces of work which I must dismiss briefly, in order to devote more space to the more important.²⁰

Athens and Attica.—In *Athens* itself, on the site of the Royal Stables at the upper end of Stadium Street, further discoveries have been made since my last report was written.²¹ It was previously known that the so-called Wall of Hadrian ran through this region of the city (not the Themistoklean Wall, as



FIG. 4.—ATHENS: THE WALL OF HADRIAN BESIDE THE OLD ROYAL STABLES.

stated in my last account). The whole area covered by the stables is now in course of excavation for building purposes, and the Archaeological Service was at first only able to employ a few men to clear such tombs as came to light, and to plot the position of all the important discoveries; but subsequently it has continued excavating on a small scale at its own expense. The Wall of Hadrian, running nearly parallel with, and close to, Stadium Street was found to be faced on each side with dressed blocks of stone and marble stripped from earlier buildings, with a core of rubble, bricks and statue-fragments set in mortar, and many columnar grave-stelai of Roman date were also

²⁰ I have not been able to consult the original reports of the excavators concerned, with a few exceptions; I have, however, supplied the deficiency as far as possible with the aid of material published in the *A.J.A.* and *B.C.H.*

²¹ For the particulars here given, and for the photographs reproduced, I am indebted to a report supplied expressly for this article by Mlle. S. Papaspiridis, of the National Museum.

built into it (Fig. 4). A tower previously known was uncovered, but had lost its facing-blocks.

On both sides of this wall numerous tombs of various dates (but none apparently earlier than the fifth century) were discovered: terra-cotta, *poros* and marble were the materials used, and rectangular sarcophagi were the most frequent, but there were also many rock-cut burials. It was noticed that a very high proportion of the interments were those of children. Where the ground was soft there were extensive remains of pyres, many of which yielded fragments of fine white *lekythoi* and of r.-l. *loutrophoroi* of the Phidian period. Many months' work must yet be devoted to the study and piecing of these



FIG. 5.—ATHENS: TOMBS BELOW THE OLD ROYAL STABLES.

fragments, but there are hopes of restoring a considerable number of really fine vases. It is worth recording that no signed piece has come to light, and that there is very little suggesting a date much before 450 B.C. Five *periboloi* enclosing family-tomb-groups were recognised, and outside one of them on an unworked stone was the inscription $\delta\pi\omicron\varsigma \mu\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon \text{ 'Ανθεμoxπίτου}$. Other finds include several marble *lekythoi* of the fourth century, with scenes in relief, a fine grave-stele of the late fifth century with the name of Kalippe, and two fine r.-l. *pelikai* from the second half of that century. Early in the excavations, and near the surface, two fine draped female statues, of over life-size, were unearthed: one lacks her head, the other is complete. They resemble the 'Herculaneum' type, and are now attributed to the Roman period.²²

In the autumn of 1926 Professor Soteriades carried out an investigation

²² Not to the fourth century B.C. as was originally reported (*J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 244).

in the region of *Marathon* in order to find the site of the ancient village of that name, and in the narrow pass between the mountain *Agrieliki* and the marsh of *Brexisa* (about 34 km. from Athens) he found acropolis walls 2 m. wide with a circumference of about 300 m., which he identifies as the site in question. These walls are made of blocks of stone cut from the rock of the mountain behind and do not extend along the north-east slope of the ridge where the cliff provides protection. The citadel is placed upon a crag which is about 1.50 km. from the *Soros*. It commands the whole plain and is scarcely a kilometre from the shore. It is also provided with a spring of good drinking water. Professor *Soteriades* believes that the camp of the Athenians in 490 B.C. must have been near this town of *Marathon* in order to have access to necessary supplies, especially water, and to guard the pass to Athens and the road by which the army had come, namely, the route through *Pallene-Mesogeia*.

A trial excavation near the wall of this acropolis produced numerous potsherds belonging to both the Classical and Geometric periods, while at the foot of the mountain were found large quantities of flint, probably reflecting prehistoric occupation. *Probalinthos*, the other unidentified village of the tetropolis, must have lain, according to Professor *Soteriades*, near the farm of *St. John*, above the 34 km. post on the Athens road, where the crags project from *Mt. Agrieliki*, thus giving rise to the name *Probalinthos* (*Projecting Hill*?). Here also was a spring of drinking water, and he found ancient Greek marbles from large buildings, not simply remains of funerary monuments like the bases, columns, etc. that were found in the vicinity of *Vrana*. He also investigated the inscription to *Herodes Atticus* found some time ago at *Avlona*, and discovered that the other side bore a similar tribute to *Regilla*. This stone came from the arch of a gateway, the piers of which were of marble and measured 2 m. in length by .074 m. in width. Remains of walls near by seem to belong to some addition or annex to the gateway.

Northern Greece, etc.—Through the kindness of Dr. *Romaos* I can now give a further report of the 1926 excavations at *Kalydon*, which have yielded such remarkable results. The work was carried out by Dr. *Romaos* and Dr. *Frederick Poulsen*, Archaeological Director of the Ny Carlsberg Museum in Copenhagen, the funds being supplied by the Danish Rask-Oersted Foundation. The work begun in 1925²² was continued in the same two areas: in the Temple of *Artemis Laphria* and in the building near to it which had been provisionally called the *Bouleuterion*. The substructure of the Temple was entirely cleared, with the pavement round it, as also a massive terrace-wall to the north-west, another poorly preserved building further west, and a stoa to the north-east. The most remarkable of the remains is the great north-west terrace-wall, 38 m. long by 9 m. high, built of enormous well-worked sandstone blocks—one actually measures 6.30 m. in length. This wall probably dates from the middle of the sixth century B.C. In the Temple there seem to be three different periods of construction. To the first belongs a small

²² Cf. a preliminary report in *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 246, where I omitted to state that the enterprise was supported from this Danish source.

early building, dating from late in the seventh century, but there are only faint traces of it in the middle of the structure. The building of a second temple, dating from about the middle of the sixth century, is traceable in the substructure; but the main architectural members are from a third temple built about 400 B.C., of about the same dimensions as the second, but with different proportions between *pronaos*, *cella* and *opisthodomos*. This temple was Doric peripteral, with 6×13 columns, and it probably had two rows of Ionic columns in the *cella*, to judge from numerous fragments with Ionic flutings. The substructure is of sandstone, the main building of *poros*, and the roof-tiles and *sima* of marble. The *sima* was decorated with lions' heads and with long dogs' heads which may have some connexion with the worship of Artemis, as was the case at Epidaurus. The dimensions along the Euthynteria are 14.92×31.60 m. There were no stone remains from the upper structure of the sixth-century temple, but from a quantity of architectural terra-cottas, including many fragments of painted metopes, that were found in the ground near by, it is evident that the superstructure of this temple and of the earlier one was of wood decorated with terra-cotta revetments. The metopes must be attributed to the seventh-century temple, for the painting on them is contemporary with, if not earlier than, the archaic metopes from Thermon. Two of the fragments show parts of a large Gorgoneion. From the sixth-century temple come many interesting fragments of sphinxes, including one exceptionally well-preserved head. The face is covered with a bright creamy-yellow slip of the best Corinthian style, with the features strongly emphasised in dark paint.²⁴ The numerous pieces of the terra-cotta *sima* are of extraordinary interest, for the Corinthian potters, not content with the usual method of indicating the position of each piece by a number, have, before baking, scratched on the clay the number written out in full in their own dialect and alphabet, adding *πὸς ἄρκος* for the pieces on the east side, and *πὸς ἐσπέρας* for the pieces on the west. Fourteen such inscribed fragments were found. (Two are now reproduced in *B.C.H.*, 1926, p. 559, Figs. 7 and 8.)

The building to the west of the Temple was probably also a temple; little remains except the foundations, but some antefix-tiles of the fifth or sixth century B.C. were found, also some fragments of marble metopes of severe style, rather like those of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. There were found here quantities of terra-cotta figurines, ranging from archaic to Hellenistic, and bronze horses and birds from the Geometric period, to which also belonged a curious circular structure enclosing a hearth bounded by four upright slabs.

The stoa to the east of the Temple measures 64 m. in length. It is supported on a retaining wall with tower-like buttresses. The colonnade seems to be archaic in date, having had columns of wood resting on stone slabs, and closely resembles the colonnade at Thermon in having its stylobate not continuous but with roughly worked slabs between the columns. The rear

²⁴ It resembles, and even surpasses, the fine head in the Thebes Museum (Van Duren, *Greek Fictile Revetments*, Pl. XXXIII Fig. 120).

wall of the stoa curves into a semicircular apse at the western end. The sanctuary yielded a small quantity of inscriptions:—a few fragments of archaic bronze plaques bearing on both sides inscriptions dealing with the cult, and a complete marble proxeny-decree of the Aetolian League for the city of Trikkia.

Further examination proved the 'Bouleuterion' found last year to have been misnamed. Its plan is like that of a house with small rooms and halls set round the central peristyle. Only the north-east section was cleared this year, the chief room being a hall measuring 12.65 × 5.65 m., with marble seats on three sides. Here a most curious discovery was made—fourteen busts, mostly in small fragments, dating probably from the first century B.C. and representing gods or heroes. Among them can be recognised Herakles, Hermes and Meleager. The hall opens on to a paved space that was open to the sky, in which stood part of a huge statue-base. Fragments of an inscription state that someone dedicated 'τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικί . . . Μένει ἥπρι.' Underneath this spot a funeral vault was found containing two sarcophagi in the form of couches. The doors were of stone, carved to resemble wooden doors, and the approach was a *dromos* with horizontal roof and a flight of nine steps. Though plundered in antiquity the whole vault was well preserved. Each sarcophagus was divided into two and contained the remains of at least two burials. The couches each had two pillows of separate stones, the mattress forming the lid of the sarcophagus. The legs are carved and each couch has a decorated stool. The style of the decoration points to the first or second century B.C. Dr. Roumpos has no doubt that the upper hall with the seats and busts served for the worship of the dead, but he can make no final statement on the purpose of the whole building till he has excavated further.

At *Molykreion*, near Velvina, west of Naupaktos, M. Orlando uncovered a building first noted by Woodhouse (*Aetolia*, p. 324), which proves to be a temple of Poseidon. It is a Doric structure of the fourth century B.C. with 6 × 13 columns. The drums of these columns were made of two semicircular pieces. The lines of all the interior division walls are preserved, and in the foundations were found architectural members of an earlier Ionic temple in *poros*. Two fragments of inscriptions were found, one part of a fourth-century statue-base, the other, a bronze plaque, bears part of a proxeny-decree of the third or fourth century B.C. Beside the temple was found a double colonnade with eleven columns on each side of the dividing wall. To the east of the temple another poorer temple was partly cleared, and there are other buildings within the acropolis-wall which M. Orlando has surveyed along its whole extent.

At *Pherai*,²⁵ in Thessaly, the excavation of the so-called Temple of Zeus Thaulios, carried out by the Greek Archaeological Society in conjunction with the French School, was continued, in the spring by MM. Béquignon and Collart, and in the autumn by Dr. Arvanitopoulos. The length of the Temple could only be approximately fixed at 28.50 m., for the foundations

²⁵ Cf. *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 246.

to the south-west have entirely disappeared. To the east of it were discovered the foundations of six structures of different dates—probably small chapels or altars. The Temple seems to have been built directly on an untouched Geometric necropolis, and the fact that the Temple was actually completed is proved by the finding of two pieces of cornice. To the south of the Temple, an important find was a 'favissa,' containing ex-votos of bronze of the archaic period—fibulae, votive animals, necklaces, and bracelets. Of especial importance were the statuette of a warrior and a handle in the form of a griffin-head. The discovery of a quantity of female terra-cotta figurines of the archaic period suggests that the sanctuary was sacred to a female deity, and that Dr. Arvanitopoullos has perhaps been mistaken in attributing the sanctuary to Zeus Thaulios, for the inscriptions on which he bases this attribution were actually found at some distance from the Temple.

Peloponnese.—At *Pylos*, in Messenia, M. Kourouniotis cleared a *tholos*-tomb measuring about 6 m. both in diameter and height. The tomb, which had been plundered from above, was built of small rough slabs, and there was no trace of a walled *dromos*. Over the doorway, 2.75 m. high, were three large, unworked lintel-stones. On the floor of the graves, about 1 m. below that of the chamber, was a thin burnt layer. A quantity of sherds was found, an Early Mycenaean *prochoe* and a cup with a handle of peculiar form. The technique resembles that of the Mycenaean vases of Thermopylae. There were also some fragments of silver and a large faience *pyxis*.

In June 1927, Dr. Th. Karachios, Ephor of Laconia and Messenia, excavated an interesting chamber-tomb of the Mycenaean period, long known but never explored, at *Kalyvia Pellanes*, a few hours from Sparta. It is approached by a rock-cut *dromos* 4 m. wide, and the doorway has carefully-dressed *parastades*, and a triangular relieving-space was left by the makers over the entrance. This feature, familiar from built *tholoi*, is here superfluous owing to the toughness of the rock, but it enabled the original despoilers of the tomb to force an entrance. The chamber is 5 m. high, and 6 in diameter. There are two more similar tombs, and one smaller, not far distant. The finds included a fine Bügelkanne painted with an octopus-design, a tall-stemmed *kylix*, and numerous pieces of other vases of various shapes, a Mycenaean female idol of the common type, seal-stones, one with the subject of a horse, and many paste-beads from a necklace, but no gold, and nothing important in bronze.

After three years' interval M. Philadelphus resumed excavations at *Sikyon* with Professor Orlandos. They worked in the great building below the acropolis and to the south of the theatre previously discovered. A wide water-channel runs along two sides of this building, which, at the time of its discovery, was regarded as a stoa, but Professor Orlandos now regards it as a gymnasium. Farther to the south was found a potter's shop with terra-cotta figurines (female figures, horsemen, cocks, shields, etc.) of good Greek period, and a mould for three similar figures, together with a great many large urns not yet decorated, and finally a kiln with a great heap of ashes and coal. The great temple, which was cleared in 1922, is being planned, and enough architectural members are extant to permit of a restoration. It is built of *poros* in the

Doric style and had been repaired in Macedonian times. Later the Romans had built a villa (?) over it, for a mosaic floor was found, and in Christian times it was used as a church. Professor Orlandos has continued his work at *Stymphalos*,³⁶ and has traced nearly the whole circuit of the city-walls. He also cleared the east gate, which was found to resemble, on a small scale, the Arcadian Gate of Messene. The most important find, however, was a boundary-stone, discovered on the acropolis beside the temple, which had provisionally been called the *Heraion*. This stone bears the inscription *Πολιάδος*, which solves the problem of the dedication of the temple. Another inscription, on a statue-base, reads *ὁ δῆμος Στυμφαλίων Ἐργασίων Λυσιμέχου*. The excavation of the Gothic cathedral was also continued this year, yielding much architectural material. Finally Professor Orlandos cleaned and restored the fountain in the Agora (cf. *J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 225).

Crete.—M. Marinatos, the junior Ephor in Crete, reports that he dug two Early Minoan tombs, one near the village of *Vali* to the east of Gortyn, and the other in the vicinity of *Mallia* on the north-east coast. The former, which is carefully built of large stones, has a diameter of 4.90 m. It apparently continued in use for a very long time, as it was full of Late Minoan *larnakes*, more than fifteen of which were found *in situ*, as well as *pitheoi*-burials and one *kalpe* with the ashes and bones of a child. All the dead of the *larnakes* and *pitheoi* were without funerary objects, while the objects of the earlier burials had been removed at the time of the later interments; and of the E. M. period only one steatite seal, another cylindrical seal of bone, and two pots had survived. Many M.M. and L.M. cups were found, including two beautiful M.M. one-handed cups imitating the veining of amygdalite by light and dark colours. Some stone pots, two unique bronze earrings, and a bronze ring were also recovered. As a result of a report made by Sir Arthur Evans, M. Marinatos went to the village of *Krasi-Pediados* near Mallia and found an E.M. tholos tomb, none of which had hitherto been found in Crete outside the Mesara Plain. It is preserved to a height of ca. 1.50 m. and is built of large stones carelessly fitted together. It has, towards the east, a low door .50 m. high, which was blocked with slabs of stone. M. Marinatos feels certain that it was not possible to bury the dead, at least the latest ones, through this door and that they must have been introduced from above into the tomb, the door having been made only in reminiscence of house doors. The objects found include two bracelets and a ring of silver wire, four silver discs, various bronze objects, a bone amulet carved in the shape of a leg and foot, whorls, pots and the bones of many animals, such as a dog, a boar, sheep and cattle. This kind of burial, accompanied by silver objects, brings this part of the island (the north-east coast) into very close relationship with the Cyclades. In the vicinity of the villages of *Krasi* and *Avdou* there appear to be other E.M. tombs which await excavation.

M. Marinatos also explored, close to the Minoan house at *Nirou Chani* (*J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 226 f.), the settlement at H. Theodoros, which is partly buried

³⁶ Cf. *J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 225; 1926, p. 247.

in sand and partly submerged, and cleared various structures, including a kind of paved shelter, in which were many L.M. vases and perforated clay balls. Further east were house-remains and a well, and beyond them a large rectangular walled area, one side of which measures 45 m. in length. One of the many *pithos*-fragments found here bore a Minoan inscription on the lip. Another building, partly under water, measures 18 m. across, and has two bases surviving from a central colonnade. At the point where the promontory projects from the coast is a large rock-cutting, now submerged to a depth of six feet, which is 40 m. wide and 12 m. deep, with a partition-wall; whether it was used for a dock or a galley-house cannot now be determined, but it is of no small interest as an element of what was clearly an important Minoan port-town. All along the point itself are remains of foundations and rock-cuttings for houses.

ITALIAN SCHOOL

During the summer of 1926 Professor Della Seta carried out trial excavations in the island of *Lemnos*, for the purpose of finding out what material remains there might be on the island of the Pelasgian—Tyrrhenians of history.²⁷ Excavations were begun on the site of the classical Hephlaisteia, the modern Kokkino, in the north of the island. A large necropolis was found, dating from all periods, but the most important discovery was the Tyrrhenian necropolis, which yielded a quantity of pottery and bronze and throws much light on the religious customs and civilisation of the people. The bodies of the dead were burnt, and one hundred and thirty ossuaries were found. At the bottom of the ossuary lay the funeral ornaments: for the man, an axe, an iron knife, a whetstone and a few *fibulae*; for the woman, bracelets, rings, earrings and *fibulae*. In seven of the ossuaries gold was found, one contained a complete set of jewelry with diadem and necklace. The decorative motives on the jewelry seem to be derived from both Mycenaean and Geometric designs, and it is the same with the pottery, but there are also pieces of a grey and black ware, resembling the *bucchero* ware of Etruscan tombs. The finds seem to point to the conclusion that this was a non-Greek race. The Greek weapons, sword and spear, are lacking, and in their place are the axe and knife. There are, however, many Mycenaean elements in the civilisation revealed, and it is possible that the people are the survivors of a Mycenaean population.

OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSIONS

It remains to record several pieces of work not directly undertaken by any of the foreign Schools at Athens. Near the village of *Bodia* in Triphylia, two *tholos*-tombs were located and excavated by M. N. Swennson, a Swedish member of the French School, who had also taken part in the work at *Asine*.²⁸ The better-preserved of these had an inner diameter of 6.85 m., and a height of

²⁷ From an account published in the *Messenger d'Athènes*, January 3, 1927, I hear from Professor Della Seta that a

fuller report is to appear in *Bollettino d'Arte* before the end of 1927.

²⁸ *B.C.H.*, 1927, p. 552 f.

5.75 m., and was chiefly striking for the way in which the doorway of the tomb diminished in width towards the interior; it was spanned by a vast lintel-block measuring $3.12 \times 2.20 \times .60$ m., with a relieving-space above. The tomb had been effectively robbed and only a few late Mycenaean sherds remained. The other tomb, which was much destroyed, yielded in its grave-trench only a few sherds and some fragments of gold jewelry and paste beads. On a hillside some 300 m. to the north-east are remains of walls, with many Mycenaean sherds, which may prove to be the citadel to which these tombs belonged.

An expedition led by Dr. Martin Schede has re-examined the temples of Augustus at Ancyra and Aizanoi, in each case obtaining data which enable a more exact plan to be established.²⁹

Ephesus.—The resumption of excavations at Ephesus for the first time since the war is an event of unusual interest, and the account given by Professor A. Deissmann to the Prussian Institute is here summarised.³⁰ The direction of the work was in the hands of Professor Josef Keil, who had with him Professor Max Thener as architect, Professor Deissmann himself as president of the newly-formed Society for the Excavation of Ephesus, which had collected funds for the purpose from Germany, Austria and other countries, and Dr. Franz Miltner. Work lasted from September 1st to the end of November, and the results far surpassed expectations. In the first place the site of archaic Ephesus was finally located, not, as Benndorf had expected, on the hill of Aya Solouk itself, but on the hill to the north and north-west of the Stadium, where a large mass of early pottery came to light. The early religious history of the site was illuminated by the discovery on Panaghir Dagh (ancient Pion), which dominates the whole Cayster-plain, of a number of rock-cut votive niches, and near them of a Temenos of Zeus, Cybele and other deities; here they found many inscriptions and about nine votive reliefs in honour of the triad Cybele, Zeus and Attis, or the pair Zeus and Attis, but all bearing the pair of lions symbolical of the goddess. A rock-cut inscription of the fifth century B.C., reading Ζεὺς πατριάρχης ἱερῶν, testifies convincingly to the traditional cult of Zeus, and perhaps implies some contrast to that of Artemis at her famous Temple at the end of the plain: at the same time the cult of Cybele at the rock-cut sanctuary, though essentially connected with that of Artemis, suggests a much more primitive cult than that of the latter as refined by Greek worship.

Discoveries of the later Hellenic and early Roman periods were numerous and noteworthy. Near the Magnesian Gate a richly decorated Nymphaeum was uncovered, which yielded many statues and inscriptions. Among the latter were four massive cubical blocks of marble bearing on one side inscriptions relating to the Agoranomoi, and on the other side a long decree of the year A.D. 44 concerning the worship of Artemis. These must have been brought from the great market-square. Built into a wall, and serving as a beam, was a large block carved to represent a colossal winged Hermes, in which the ex-

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 580.

³⁰ Communicated by Professor Deissmann, through Professor G. Soteriou, to

the Academy of Athens, and printed in *Πρακτικά Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, II, 119 ff.

cavators have recognised the first example of the type of 'Hermeros' created by Tauriskos of Tralles (one of the artists of the Farnese Bull).

Of particular interest were the results obtained in a systematic investigation of the extensive cemeteries situated east of the rugged Panaghir Dagh. At the 'Cave of the Seven Sleepers,' the object of veneration first by Christians and then by Mahommedans, for 1500 years, after several weeks of laborious digging it was found that all this area had comprised an early Christian church, in which, close to the tombs of eminent Saints, very many of the Christian population of Ephesus had been buried in a great series of catacombs. These represented practically all the types of catacombs known elsewhere in Mediterranean lands. Funeral furnishings included many hundreds of lamps, of about 170 different patterns, with scenes from Classical and Christian worship, not to mention those with the Cross and in one form or other the monogram of Christ, *lekythoi* and other small vases, and inscriptions. The church, now freed from the earth and stones which had concealed its true shape, has a length of about 43 m. and is basilical in form, with an eastern apse. It must have been the cemetery-church dedicated to the worship of the 'Seven Children' and the Biblical Saints. The further exploration of these catacombs, hitherto unique in Asia Minor, will, it is hoped, be resumed next autumn. Another valuable piece of work was the recovery of nearly all the Byzantine marble reliefs found by Professor Soteriou in excavating the great church of St. John the Theologian,²¹ which he had been unable to leave in a place of security at the time of the disaster in Asia Minor, and which had been scattered, and in part used for building-material in refugee-dwellings.

Constantinople.—The following report has been supplied at my request by Mr. Stanley Casson, who was in charge of this most important undertaking.

A permit having been granted by the Turkish Government, excavations were begun on March 23rd last upon the site of the Hippodrome of Byzantium at Stamboul (Fig. 6). The expedition was organised under the auspices of the British Academy. The season closed at the end of July.

The first object of the excavators was to establish the dimensions and general character of the building and the general stratification of the site. After the extensive sinking of trial trenches it was found that the exact width was 117 m. and the length 470 m. (approximately). The level of the Hippodrome at its latest period in the fourteenth century was found uniformly at a depth of some 4.25 m.

The principal result of the excavations in the centre went to show that the Hippodrome had never possessed a *spina*, in the usual sense of the term, that is to say, a raised central wall supporting monuments. Whatever may have been the original intention of the builders, no architectural feature of this kind had ever existed. In its place had been a row of separate and isolated monuments of which the three that survive to-day were probably the largest. No ancient literary evidence makes mention of a *spina* in the Hippodrome, and the earliest reference belongs to the eighteenth century. The three extant monu-

²¹ Cf. *J.H.S.*, 1924, p. 276; *Αρχ. Δελτ.*, 1922.

ments were closely examined, and it was found that the "Obelisk of Porphyrogenitus" was originally constructed for use as a fountain, with a fountain-head on each of the four sides of the marble monolith that supports the column, and a central feed-pipe vertically up the centre. The Plataean Serpent-column had also been used as a fountain in Byzantine and perhaps also Turkish times. The substructure of this monument is a water-conduit sunk into the clay bedding of the Hippodrome, the conduit itself being of late fabric, perhaps fourteenth century. It seems probable that the column had been moved from elsewhere to this position at the close of Byzantine history. Literary records seem to support this suggestion.



FIG. 6.—CONSTANTINOPLE: THE HIPPODROME.

'The junction of what seem to be the Baths of Zeuxippos and the end of the Hippodrome in the direction of St. Sophia were exposed and the side of a large building in masonry revealed. A fine relief of the Roman period was found here, which had originally served as a panel for the decoration of the walls. It shows a figure of "Thalassa."

'Much of the Sphendone at the other end of the Hippodrome was found to be intact, but hidden and encumbered by modern buildings. Some 28 interior chambers were planned and examined. The outer corridor was here identified and again revealed at the sides, at about the middle of the Hippodrome; a lower and inner corridor was also found here. Many large fragments of ornamented architectural elements were found in a large cutting made at the side of the Hippodrome, so that a reconstruction of the main features of the upper colonnade and its architrave is possible. It appears that large bronze medallions joined together by bronze bands were affixed at regular intervals to the

architrave. A fine relief, probably Hellenic, was also found in this region (Fig. 7).

* Much material has accumulated for a study of Byzantine pottery, notably a large series of vessels and fragments bearing monograms. Some 120 brick-inscriptions have been also found.

* Excavations were likewise carried out by the expedition, in conjunction



FIG. 7.—CONSTANTINOPLE: RELIEF FOUND IN THE HIPPODROME.

with the Museum of Antiquities, at the Golden Gate. The foundations of both the inner and the outer gates have been fully explored, and twelve good fragments found of the reliefs which originally stood outside the outer gate and which were seen *in situ* as late as 1628. Both gates have been cleared of fallen masonry and earth and are now more satisfactory in appearance. Some 50 brick-inscriptions were found here.

A. M. WOODWARD.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Modern Traits in Old Greek Life. By CHARLES BURTOS GULICK. Pp. vii + 159. London: Harrap and Co., 1927. 5s.

This is a pleasantly written and discursive little volume in 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome' series, intended to show the general reader how many are the points of contact between ancient Greek and modern life. It is divided into sections dealing respectively with the home, education, trade, professions and religion. The sketch is naturally very slight and drawn mainly from the American standpoint, but is accurate as far as it goes. A bibliography of works of a general character is added, but we think that the author might have done a little more to impress upon the general reader how much he owes to the unselfish labours of generations of specialists.

Demosthenes and his Influence. By CHARLES DARWIN ADAMS. Pp. v + 184. London: Harrap and Co., 1927. 5s.

Another volume of 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome.' It might have been thought that Butcher's 'Demosthenes' had left little room for another short book on the same subject. The present little work is written rather from the standpoint of an ardent admirer of Demosthenes and an advocate of Liberalism in politics than from that of one who hopes to add much to our knowledge of the orator. It is readable, and gives free expression to the author's personal feelings. Most valuable probably are the closing chapters, in which useful information is given as to the history of Demosthenic study and the influence of the orator upon latter-day statesmen. We are glad to note that the author appreciates the service of the Byzantines in preserving the texts of the speeches and that of Greek scholars in preparing the way for the study of Demosthenes at the revival of learning. One or two small errors may be noted: *e.g.* the spelling 'Chalcydie' (p. 13 and elsewhere) and 'études grecq' (p. 177); on p. 132 Bessarion should have been called 'Titular Patriarch' rather than 'Patriarch' of Constantinople.

Grammatik der Neugriechischen Schriftsprache. By DR. JOHANNES E. KALITSCHAKIS. Pp. 138. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1927. 1 m. 50.

This little grammar is intended for the 'purist.' So classical is it that it might almost serve as an introduction to ancient Greek grammar. The student of modern Greek will, however, find it useful for the rules of pronunciation and as a guide to the small changes from ancient Greek allowed by the 'purists.' An interesting note at the beginning of the grammar points out tendencies to compromise both on the part of 'purist' and 'popular' writers, but the student who took this grammar as a guide to modern Greek would receive a very one-sided impression.

Euripides the Idealist. By R. B. APPLETON. Pp. xi + 206. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1927. 6s.

The world conditions of recent years have undoubtedly been favourable to an increased appreciation of Euripides. The majesty of Aeschylus and the serenity of Sophocles seem less in accord with the restlessness of a world suffering from the shock of the Great War. The present book will be found of considerable interest, for it is clearly written by one

who has made a long and independent study of the poet, and it is copiously illustrated by extracts from the plays translated into pleasing verse. Such a study has its value, for so great a poet as Euripides is always revealing new and unexpected features, though there is the danger that each successive writer may be under the delusion that what are after all but his personal interpretations are to be accepted as definitive. The title of the work shows that the writer sets out to combat many of the views about Euripides which have previously held the field. We may agree with him that Euripides is an advanced thinker—in his understanding of the possibilities of women's nature, in his perception of the nobility often displayed by those in humble circumstances, in his insistence on obedience to the voice of conscience, in the value he sets upon the middle classes in a state, in his feeling for humanity and in the stress he lays upon the intelligent principle in religion. But he presents other aspects, and, though the gibes of Aristophanes are not to be taken too seriously, there is an element of truth in them. In some senses Euripides was an idealist, in others a realist. Those who set the highest value on sublimity of thought as manifested by Aeschylus or on supreme art as manifested by Sophocles will continue to think that Euripides dragged tragedy down to a lower level, and that such a play as his *Electra*, when set side by side with the *Choephori* of Aeschylus or the *Electra* of Sophocles, displays a good many of the less attractive features of realism. Mr. Appleton's work has the merit of inducing the reader to ponder anew the many problems raised by the writings of this extraordinary man.

Aeschylus and Sophocles: their Work and Influence. By J. T. SHEPPARD. Pp. vii + 204. London: Harrap and Co. (undated). 3s.

A volume of 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome.' The second part of this little book is more valuable than the first. The first part gives a brief résumé of the plots of the plays with some extracts in translation, and traces the influence of the two poets upon later Greek and Roman literature. The second part, entitled 'Modern Influences,' gives an interesting sketch of the part played by Aeschylus and Sophocles in shaping modern dramatic literature from the Renaissance onwards, more particularly as regards the French and Elizabethan dramatists and the Strasbourg plays; it also deals with their influence upon literature generally, more particularly upon Milton and the Romantics. The short allusion to the effect of a study of Aeschylus upon Wagner's music-dramas is of interest. The reader will find plenty of entertainment in this volume with its many-sided literary allusions. On p. 136 'Orestes' nurse in the *Remenides* is a slip which requires correction.

The Textual Criticism of Inscriptions. By ROLAND G. KENT. Language Monographs published by the Linguistic Society of America, No. 2. Pp. 76. Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1926.

In this brief and lucid monograph, the first two chapters of which appeared in a somewhat different form in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xl. 289 ff., the Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania seeks to classify the errors which occur in epigraphical texts and to determine the causes which have given rise to them. His aim is to indicate to 'the editor of an inscription or the scholar who desires to utilise the evidence of an inscription for linguistic purposes' the nature of the errors which he may expect to find in all save the most carefully engraved texts and to point out the directions and limits of legitimate restoration. The author rightly emphasises the difference between the emendation of manuscript texts and that of inscriptions, and urges that the methods applicable in the former field cannot be assumed as equally valid in the latter.

Professor Kent selects for detailed examination the inscription of Darinus at Behistun, two Loerian treaties (*I.G.* ix. 1. 333, 334), the Oscan inscription of the Tabula Bantina, the Umbrian texts on the Tables of Iguvium, the Lex Julia Municipalis and the preamble

of Diocletian's Edict, discussing and classifying the errors contained in each. A concluding chapter calls attention to the varying degrees of care exercised by the engravers of ancient inscriptions and summarises the results of the foregoing investigation. The work is suggestive and valuable and marks a real advance in our knowledge. Our only regret is that Professor Kent passes over in silence the achievements of his predecessors in this field, especially the chapter on 'Kritik und Hermeneutik der Inschriften' in W. Larfeld's *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, I. 261 ff. (cf. the same author's shorter discussion in his *Griechische Epigraphik*², 100 ff.).

Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Asia Minor. By DAVID M. ROBINSON. Extracted from the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. lviii. (1926), pp. 165-237, and Plates L-XLIII.

In these pages Professor Robinson of Johns Hopkins University gives us some of the epigraphical fruits of the expedition sent by the University of Michigan to Asia Minor in the summer of 1924. He deals with seventy-eight inscriptions, mostly sepulchral, from Nevinnich, Serai Onü, Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), Yalivarij (Antioch towards Pisidia) and other sites; sixty-six of them are Greek and the remainder Latin. The great majority of them appear here for the first time, though a few texts previously published are reproduced or commented upon in the interests of correctness or precision. The documents are carefully and fully annotated and each is illustrated by one or more photographs in the excellent plates which accompany the article and add very greatly to its interest and value.

Coinages of Demetrius Poliorketes. By EDWARD T. NEWELL. Pp. ix + 173; 18 colotype plates. London: Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford. 1927. £2 2s.

We welcome another of the brilliant monographs by which Mr. Newell is reducing to order the vast and chaotic masses of the coinages of the Diadochi. By his now familiar method of close stylistic analysis, checked by the evidence of die-couplings and provenance, he has distributed the scattered coinages of the Besieger among the various parts of the Macedonian empire which passed from time to time under his control, and determined the approximate dates of the various issues and of the changes of types at the particular mints—Salamis in Cyprus, Tyre, Tarsus, etc. It is interesting to note that Demetrius does not begin to coin in his own name until after the death of his father, who himself had clung to the old Alexander currency.

Owing to the nature of the material the argumentation is rather less objective than in Newell's earlier works, but his conclusions, though sometimes less decisive than usual, are on the whole convincing. Incidentally he observes that among Demetrius' tetradrachms with the Victory-on-prow type, those which were issued from Pella and Amphipolis, the mints nearest to Samothrace, show a closer correspondence in detail to the Victory of Samothrace than the issues of the more distant mints of Cyprus or Asia Minor. This is interesting as a possible contribution to the controversy on the origin of that monument. We regret the absence of indices—a general index and another for monograms and symbols would have more than doubled the usefulness of the work.

Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins. Vol. II. The Greek Mainland, the Aegean Islands, Crete. By S. W. GROSZ. Pp. 563; 136 colotype plates. Cambridge University Press, 1926. £5 5s.

Mr. Grosz is to be congratulated on the speed with which he is producing this important catalogue. The second volume, which carries us down to the end of Crete, maintains

the high standard of accuracy established in the first (reviewed in *J.H.S.* xliii, 1923), and is as fully illustrated and equipped with indices. Detailed criticism would here be out of place, though in view of its historical importance one point may be noted. The so-called tetradrachm of Antigonus I (No. 3573) with the types of Alexander the Great once bore the latter's name as well; its present inscription is due to modern tooling, and the absence of any personal coinage of Antigonus I still remains a significant fact. There is perhaps a slight falling off in the richness and variety of the series now described compared with those in the first volume, on which McClean had lavished peculiar care, but the collection is still of the first rank and shows especial strength in such places as Thessaly, Locri and the Islands (Melos, Crete).

An excellently ordered magazine of numismatic material.

Les Monnaies et les ateliers monétaires de Serdica. By N. A. MOUCHKOV. Pp. viii + 222; 12 plates. Sophia, 1926.

The author describes the coins of Serdica-Sophia and discusses it as a Greek, Roman and Turkish mint. His work is on conventional but generally sound lines and the appended tables of types, inscriptions and mint-marks should prove of real value, though the fact that the body of the book is written in Bulgarian will not increase the circle of its readers. The half-tone illustrations are hardly adequate to the text.

Syrische Territorien in hellenistischer Zeit. By V. KAHRESTEDT. Pp. 156. Berlin: Weidmann, 1918. 18 m.

This book contains a series of studies on the political and administrative frontiers of Syria from the period of the Achaemenids to that of the Caesars. These inquiries are attended by two main difficulties. The authors who have dealt most explicitly with Syrian geography (Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy) wrote at secondhand, and have contaminated sources of different periods to a greater or less degree. Moreover, there is a dearth of inscriptions relating to Hellenistic Syria, where no records comparable to those of Pergamum, Miletus and Magnesia have as yet been brought to light. Nevertheless, by carefully collating the literary data, such as they are, with the comparatively plentiful evidence of coins, Professor Kahrestedt has advanced our knowledge of Syrian history at many points. His most notable achievement is the more accurate delimitation of the successive boundaries between the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic realms: in particular, he has shown that the original frontier, as fixed in 301 B.C., lay further north than has been generally supposed. He also throws interesting sidelights on the internal administration of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid territories in Syria, and on the growth of municipal autonomy in the later days of the Seleucid dynasty (or dynasties). The only weak point about this volume is its one overcrowded map, in which frontier lines overlap each other too thickly.

Αἰνείας Πολιόρκητος. By L. W. BUSTEN. Revised by S. A. HAYFORD. Pp. lxxxii + 266. Clarendon Press, 1927. 18s.

This volume will probably be to many readers a first introduction to an author hitherto unknown. In this country Aeneas Tacticus has suffered from a somewhat undeserved neglect, perhaps because he was suspected to be a late and ignorant compiler like Polyænus. But it is practically certain that he was none other than Aeneas of Stymphalia, whom Xenophon mentions as an active soldier in the days of Epaminondas, and his manner of writing is that of a practical man with a fund of personal experience. His work therefore stands on a level with Xenophon's *Hellenica* as a contemporary source for the history of the early and middle fourth century.

The *Ηολορχητικὰ* are in one sense rather disappointing. They deal almost exclusively with petty stratagems such as one reads in a good robber story for boys, and have singularly little to say about the methods and apparatus of formal siege-craft, which in Aeneas' own day were being revolutionised by Dionysius. But Aeneas had to cut his coat according to his cloth: and his own writings show again and again that an average Greek army of his time had neither the discipline nor the morale for scientific warfare: in fact, the average general's chief concern at this date would seem to have lain in the effects of panic and treason. The *Ηολορχητικὰ*, as the editors point out, throw a lurid light on the Greek city-state; it might be added that they go a long way to justify the tirades of Isocrates and the aggressions of Philip. Furthermore, as the editors rightly emphasise, Aeneas' handbook is of great importance for the history of the Greek language, in that it is the earliest attempt, among surviving works, of a non-Athenian to write Attic, and is thus a precursor of the literary *κωμὴ*.

The hardest task of an editor of Aeneas is to reconstitute a sound text out of a ruinous MS. tradition. Some other scholars have emended heroically, in order to improve the text into something like pure Attic, but the present editors have wisely allowed many solecisms and inelegancies to stand. On the other hand, they have been laudably free in their translation, which is not only clear but eminently readable. In the introductory chapter they restate succinctly the arguments in favour of identifying our Aeneas with him of Stymphalia, and they provide a valuable analysis of our author's vocabulary and diction. The notes are full and adequate. A special word of praise is here due to Mr. Handford's ingenious explanations of certain *loci desperati*, such as the bolt-and-pin arrangements of a Greek city-gate (p. 108 ff.), and the construction of *chenuis de frons* out of *furis caris* (p. 220 ff.).

The following annotations may be offered:—

II. 1. *σὺντοχάται* in a city.—The notable examples of Messene and Syracuse might here be quoted.

Ch. IX. Use of the second person.—The editors rightly refuse to regard this as a mark of interpolation. A similar abrupt transition is found in [Xenophon] *Ἀθ. Πολ.* I. § 11.

XX. 4. *εἰς πολλὰς κλίσεις ἀπὸ σφύρας*.—'To the sound of a hammer' seems rather vague. Why not 'with hammer-strokes' directed against the bolt-pin?

XXIV. 10. *Ἀθηνοδωρὸς Ἰβριεύς*.—The editors, no doubt rightly, identify him with a man of the same name whom Demosthenes describes as γένεσθαι πολλῶς, but feel misgivings about the epithet *Ἰβριεύς*. This need not cause any difficulty, for Irbros was an Athenian cleruchy.

XXVII. 7. (A Spartan harmost in Thrace prevents a panic).—The editors infer from this that 'even the Spartans were not exempt from panic' (p. 190). But it does not follow that the harmost's troops were Spartan likewise: more probably they were mercenaries.

P. 194. 'At Tiryns, Mycenae, Messene and Megalopolis the main entrance could only be reached by a road exposing the enemy's unprotected right side to attack from a bastion.' There is no clear evidence of this arrangement at Messene and Megalopolis, but there is an undoubted instance of it at Mantinea.

Altogether, this is a notable addition to our standard classical texts.

M. C.

The History and Civilisation of Ancient Megara. By E. L. HIGGARDNER.
Pp. xv + 220. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927. 2 \$ 50.

This is a meritorious piece of work in which the author has collected the ancient evidence concerning Megara and has discussed much of what has been written by modern scholars on the subject. In spite of all his industry, he has been unable to make up a really connected story, but the blame for this rests entirely on the scantiness of the data. He might have discussed at greater length some geographical points, e.g. the strategic importance of the cross-range of Geraneis, and the possibility of establishing an important trade route

across the Isthmus to Pagae, which some writers have assumed rather than proved. He might also have given a stronger lead on some debated questions, such as the reputed warfare between Megara and Athens in the eighth or seventh century, and the chronology of Theagenes and Theognis. But taken as a whole Mr. Hightarger's book is a good representative of a useful type of monograph.

On p. 88, eight lines from the foot, read Νύξ for Νίξ.

Democracy in the Ancient World. By T. R. GLOVER. Pp. x + 263. Cambridge University Press, 1927. 10s. 6d.

This volume consists of a series of extremely informal and vivacious lectures on ancient democracies, and oligarchies to boot. Over this large subject it ranges with Pindaric discursiveness, like a crowded album of unsorted snap-shots. It bears evidence of a wide reading in modern and contemporary as well as ancient history, and is full of hints and allusions which provoke to further thought. Those readers whom it does not bewilder will find it a stimulating and even exhilarating book.

The Political Ideas of the Greeks. By J. L. MYRES. Pp. xii + 271. London: Arnold, 1927. 14s.

Unlike most books with a similar title, this volume does not merely expound the out-and-dried systems of the philosophic schools, but essays the more difficult task of tracing the slow growth of political logic and political conscience out of the crude notions of Homeric and Hesiodic Greece. This unusual object it pursues by a method equally unexpected. It takes comparatively little account of Greek political practices, which at first sight would appear to be the best index to political theory: but it makes a very careful study of the leading Greek political terms, such as *ἀρχή*, *δίκη*, *νόμος*, etc., tracing them from their primary to their final and conventional senses, and showing how each meaning in turn revealed a phase of Greek thought. Here and there, it is true, Professor Myres emphasises some historical fact and passes an enlightening comment upon it. Thus he points out that in the Greek home-land the city-state flourished only on soil previously fertilised by Minoan culture. He notes the salutary pressure which Greek public opinion brought to bear upon rich men as regards the use of their wealth. He cites the excellent drafting of Greek documents as proof of Greek ability in administrative routine. But many of his arguments from actual history are hints rather than proofs. The really distinctive part of his book lies in the analysis of political key-words, which is refreshingly original. Thus he translates one time-worn quotation, 'it is the function of a citizen to start and be started' (*ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι*). Plainly it will also be the function of Professor Myres' readers to be started. But the shock thus administered to them should prove salutary. They will at any rate be made to realise that the Greeks were not born into a world of stock phrases and ready-made ideas, but had to form their standards as they went along, and that they brought to this task both good sense and a fine feeling for accurate expression.

The Architect in History. By MARTIN S. BRIGGS, F.R.I.B.A. Pp. xii + 400, with 46 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 10s. net.

Although two chapters only of this entertaining book are devoted to Greece and Rome, the student of classical antiquity will find in this small compass a great deal of interesting information about the status of the architect in the ancient world. The origins of town-planning and its early exponents; the salaries of Greek architects; their literary activity and some instances of Hellenistic self-advertisement; the methods adopted by the later Roman emperors (notably Alexander Severus and Constantine) to provide a supply of adequately trained practitioners to meet the demands of the time for architects and civil

engineers; the duties of the architect in the reign of Theodoric as reflected in the letters of Cassiodorus to Aloisius; these are a few of the topics which Mr. Briggs treats with his customary thoroughness and appreciation of what is historically significant.

Spätromische Kunstindustrie. By ALBIS RIEGL. Pp. xix + 421, with 116 figs. in the text and 23 plates (2 in colours). Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1927. 50 sch.

This is a reprint, without alteration, but in a reasonable format and with several additional illustrations, of Riegl's celebrated book, which originally appeared in 1901. Twenty-six years of research along the lines which he was the first to trace have naturally modified and supplemented Riegl's argument in a variety of ways; but the book is now a classic, like Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke*, and all that was needed was an appendix containing a critical estimate of Riegl's work and a bibliography of publications since 1901. These are the work of Dr. Otto Pächt.

Körper und Rhythmus. By FR. BAER. Pp. 8, and 52 plates. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1927. 4 m.

This popular picture-book of the athletic human form in action is an outcome of the contemporary enthusiasm in Germany for physical self-development. The old passion for Greece and the new passion for sport are here identified. The illustrations are all of familiar objects (the Idolino, the Tübingen bronze, the Berlin dancing-girl, the hockey relief, etc., etc.), but they are well chosen and well reproduced and convey a good impression of the Greek man exercising his muscles and the Greek woman with her draperies harmoniously fluttering in the dance.

Fouilles de Doura-Europos, 1922-1923. By FRANK CUMONT. Pp. lxxviii + 533, with 64 figs. in the text, and an atlas of 124 plates (13 in colours). Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1926. 600 fr.

The most remarkable of the discoveries at Dura, the series of wall-paintings in the temple of the Palmyrene gods, were already well known from Professor Breasted's first article in *Syria* and his subsequent book, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting* (Chicago, 1923). His brief, but remarkably accurate, descriptions have now been supplemented by the elaborate commentary of M. Cumont, whose extensive and profound knowledge of Syrian antiquities has enabled him to make interpretations and find analogies of the highest importance to students of ancient religion and ancient art alike. His survey of Syro-Hellenic painting, and the most useful bibliographical catalogue of the more noteworthy existing specimens which he has appended to it, must necessarily form the starting-point for all future investigations of the subject. The Hellenic element in the Dura paintings is slight, and we should guess them to be the work of native artificers even if a lucky chance had not preserved for us the Semitic name, Hsamsos, of the author of the long scene with figures sacrificing. The sculpture, on the other hand, speaks of contact with Hellenistic centres; a female figure recalling the Pudicitia type is of local stone and local workmanship, but a more sophisticated Aphrodite resting her foot upon a tortoise is probably an importation from Antioch or Sidon, and perhaps a late descendant of the Ouranos of Phidias. Interesting evidence for a native school is afforded by the curious Greco-Parthian Victories from the temple of Artemis-Nanaia. The parchments and inscriptions form a most valuable addition to the scanty epigraphic remains of this region.

Later Greek Sculpture. By A. W. LAWRENCE. Pp. xvii + 158, with 112 plates. London: Jonathan Cape, 1927. 25s.

A detailed account of Hellenistic art has yet to be written. Dickinson's book is a fragment left unfinished at his death. Klein's *Vom antiken Rokoko* is a diverting stylistic fantasia, but in no sense a history. Cultren's *Saggi sull' arte ellenistica e greco-romana* (which Lawrence does not mention) is also incomplete, and moreover lacks illustrations. Winter's section dealing with the period in *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern* is good as far as it goes, but is merely a popular survey. And hitherto no one else has attempted a systematic discussion of this important and complicated phase of ancient art. Lawrence's book raised hopes which it has not altogether fulfilled. It consists of a very slight general sketch of Hellenistic art and its more or less immediate consequences, and an important appendix, reminiscent of (but less formidable than) the notes to Lippold's *Kopien und Umbildungen*, and consisting of a catalogue, with bibliographical references, of the monuments which in the author's opinion can be approximately dated in the present state of knowledge. The illustrations are good: clear and large, and well reproduced in half-tone from satisfactory photographs. There are two excellent indexes, one of subjects, the other of places and museums.

The text of Lawrence's book is an essay on the conditions which brought Hellenistic art into existence, on the main currents it followed during its course of three centuries, and its subsequent percolation to regions as remote as India and China and Japan. He pays particular attention to the psycho-physiological background of Greek sculpture, demonstrating how the amateur athletic ideal of classical Greece and the homosexual conception of love which accompanied it gave place during the Hellenistic age to a less individualised life in the great cities of the Diadochi, where athletics were cultivated vicariously and where the relationship of the sexes was more what modern opinion has decided to regard as normal. Those characteristically modern phenomena—the prominence in art of the seductive female nude, the taste for the grotesque, a degenerate admiration for mere muscle and brawn, even (to some extent) the cult of the noble savage—all are present in the complex and sophisticated society of Pergamon and Antioch and Alexandria.

As a historian Lawrence suffers from a tendency, common in France but less frequent here, to enunciate and dismiss as self-evident facts what are in truth highly disputable hypotheses. He may, for instance, be justified in his scepticism about the existence of local schools and traditions in Seleucid Syria and Ptolemaic Egypt; but they are not to be demolished by a couple of sentences and a pair of photographs. One would like a little more evidence than Lawrence thinks it worth while to give before accepting his theory that the centres of artistic production in the Hellenistic age remained almost exclusively in the Aegean area, shifting only from the European to the Asiatic shore. Again, one can only describe as misleading his statement that the share of the Etruscans in the development of Roman republican portraiture is a 'myth.' The excavations at Delos have certainly revealed a class of realistic portraits closely resembling the somewhat later heads of Romans from Italian sites; but, as Kaschnitz-Weinberg shows in the current number of the *Römische Mitteilungen*, it is possible to trace an unbroken tradition of portraiture from late Etruria to republican Rome. It is, of course, legitimate to argue that late Etruscan sculpture is essentially Hellenistic in its method; so much may be admitted. But it seems reasonable to infer that the Hellenistic tradition reaches Rome at least as much through Italic channels as by direct influence from Delos or other Greek centres. The Ny Carlsberg Pompey is, of course, a notably Hellenising work and doubtless by a Greek artist; but portraits in the vein of the limestone head from Palestrina in Berlin are not as uncommon or as uncharacteristic as Lawrence suggests.

In his anxiety to find Hellenistic influence everywhere Lawrence takes us far afield. A knowledge of Greek traditions is evident enough in a number of hybrid works from such semi-Hellenised centres as Palmyra and Commagene, and may be more remotely detected in the curious Himyarite head in Brussels. Its effect, moreover, on the school of the Gandhara is well known and generally recognised; but when Japanese bronzes of the early seventh century (under Korean influence) make their appearance in a book on later Greek sculpture, one feels that there are limits even to the fascinating pursuit of

Quellenforschung. Lawrence has had the good fortune to visit a very large number of museums all over the world, and in his peregrinations he has collected a vast amount of interesting material; let us hope, then, that this sprightly but rather tantalising book is but a foretaste of much profounder and more searching analysis of that intricate and complex domain of which he has so far merely glanced at the borders.

R. H.

Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen. Von R. REITZENSTEIN; dritte, erweiterte und ungearbeitete Auflage. Pp. viii + 438; 2 plates. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927. 14 m.

The opinions of Reitzenstein on the problems handled in this work are familiar both from the earlier editions and from his other writings. It is therefore necessary only to say that this issue is not only an enlargement of its predecessors, but contains a great deal of new material, with rearrangement of much of the old, as will appear if a few pages are collated with the corresponding parts of the second edition. The lecture with which the book starts has been a good deal revised, but retains much of its original form and of its modest tone. The few notes which used to stand at the end of the text have become twenty good-sized essays, dealing with a wide range of subjects, such as the description, in Apuleius, of Lucius' initiation, the new Manichaean fragments, the concept of virtues and vices as members of the body, the technical language of Gnosticism, and other themes, treated with immense learning and ingenuity. In particular, the book is of very considerable importance for students of the New Testament and the early history of Christianity; I mention in particular Excursus XV (*Die Begriffe Gnosis und Pneuma*) and XX (*Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Paulus*). The great candour of the author makes it perfectly possible to read his book with interest and profit even if one happens to dissent from his views in general, or his theories of Persian influence in particular.

H. J. R.

Themis: a Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. Second edition revised, with Preface and supplementary notes. Pp. xxvi + 559. Cambridge University Press, 1927. 21s.

There is no need to give an account of the contents of *Themis*; the author's views and those of her collaborators in this work, Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. F. M. Cornford, are well known, and were outlined in this *Journal* (vol. xxxii, p. 397) when the first edition appeared. But a second edition of a highly controversial work ought to contain features which this one lacks. There is no evidence of thorough revision; else the book would have been purged of one or two sheer misstatements, slips which anyone might make, but which also anyone should notice and correct with some fifteen years to do it in. There is also no evidence, and this is a much more serious thing, of any attempt to read, understand and answer what has been said on the other side since the first edition came out. The old assumption of matrilineal kinship, for instance, is still where it was; I do not find that there has been any use made of Westermarck in this connexion. It has been pointed out by more than one critic that the explanation of so late a rite as that of the so-called *Kanteres* of the Palikastro hymn from savagery ignores the long history of Cretan civilisation; no answer is vouchsafed to this. The old weakness in the matter of documentary criticism is still apparent; thus, although the author has read Professor Halliday's brief sketch of the literary history of *Picus-Zeus*, she clearly has not grasped its significance, but airily refers to it as 'a counter-theory.' In the same context, stories out of Ovid are used without any recognition of the fact that a great part of them comes from Ovid's imagination, and that, where this is not so, we can often find an earlier account (as, on p. 106, the story of *Picus, Faunus* and *Numa*; the whole episode is in Valerius Antias, frag. 6, Peter). Nor do artistic monuments always fare better than literary ones. On p. 296 the statement still stands that *Hermes* always carries a 'snake-staff.' But he does

no such thing; the entwined snakes on the kerykeion are relatively late additions. One might go on indefinitely multiplying instances of such lack of thoroughness, but those already given will suffice. The preface indicates conversion to the views of the 'diffusionist' school in anthropology, and an intention to examine Orphism in the light thereof. The results, if not convincing, should be at least interesting.

H. J. R.

The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity. By P. J. M. DE WAELE.
Pp. 224. The Hague: Erasmus, 1927.

Dr. de Waele has a good working knowledge of English, although his idiom is not faultless, and a very good knowledge of his subject. It is especially noteworthy that he avoids the temptation to see magic in every elongated piece of wood carried by anyone in antiquity; when, therefore, he does commit himself to the statement that a particular stick is magical, his opinion deserves attention. The plan of his book is simple; he begins with the magic staff, or rod, in the hands of gods, starting from Hermes' kerykeion, concerning which he has an interesting section on its development from a Y-shaped stick (rather like a dowser's rod in shape, but not in function) to the somewhat elaborate object familiar from many statues of the god. This, and all staves and sceptres, he would distinguish from conjurers' wands, not because they may not have any supernatural force latent in them, or passing through them, for they may, as he points out (p. 101 sqq.), but because of the difference in function. He is, however, of opinion (*ibid.*) that their ultimate origin is the same. Having discussed staff- or wand-bearing deities, he goes on to examine the same implements in the hands of men, including witches, wizards and diviners. In this connexion a great deal of interesting material, with good illustrations from outside the classical sphere, is collected. The general conclusion is that a stick which is not simply a walking-stick or weapon may (a) contain magical power of its own, as by having been filled with certain magical substances, or (b) transmit the magical power of its bearer; and that various things, such as the choice of a special material or shape, may be done to reinforce this power, in either case. These are not startlingly new ideas, but they are probably sound, and the evidence for them is well and conveniently marshalled. I notice a few slips (e.g. 'North' for 'South' p. 145, line 6), and some trifling misinterpretations and inconsistencies (*deletrum* is explained one way on p. 203, another on p. 211, and I cannot agree with the exegesis given on pp. 182-3 of Pindar, *Isthm.*, III 55; there are a few more inadequacies), but they are not enough seriously to lessen the value of this very useful dissertation.

H. J. R.

Dike und Eros: Menschen und Mächte im alten Athen. By SVEN LINDBERG.
Pp. 472. Munich: Beck, 1924.

This is the 'authorised' German translation of a Swedish work, and so far as the reviewer can judge, the translator, Marie Franzos, has done her work well. It might, however, have been advisable, where sums of money are mentioned, to change the comparatively unfamiliar Swedish crowns into marks or francs. Dike and Eros are embodied respectively in Euripides and Sokrates; the work is popular in tone, without detailed references to literature, ancient or modern, and clearly is intended for the general educated public. The technical scholar, however, will find it not only pleasant reading, but by no means devoid of ideas having some pretence to originality, not in the general account given of these two figures, for this follows well-beaten tracks, but in many details. There is, for instance, good and sympathetic literary criticism of the Euripidean dramas, with suggestions as regards political and other allusions which are often worth considering. In connexion with the historical Sokrates, the author suggests that the later Platonic dialogues, such as the *Symposium* (concerning the relations of which to the *Phaedrus* he has something to say in a short appendix), often throw more light on the subject than the earlier ones, not that they are to be taken as in any sense literally accurate reports of what Sokrates said

and did, but because they are a presentation, set forth with the power of Plato's fully developed art, of the impression made upon him by his master.

Some hasty judgments and a few actual blunders slightly mar the book. The suggestion that the performance of the *Rhoss* took place before dawn (p. 100) is merely fanciful; on p. 113 there is little to support the assertion that the rhyming passage in Herakles' drunken speech (*Alceste*, 782-5) has a comic or brutal effect; it is rather a sort of imitation of a sententious prose style. On p. 117, in denying that the silence of Alkestis can be due to considerations of ritual, the author forgets the observances in the case of *ἁγροπόριος*; indeed, it is plain that he knows very little of Greek religion. It is an odd blunder to state (p. 241) that the modern *Amelokipi* preserves the name of *Alapeke*. But the very good account of Socratic irony more than makes up for small matters of this kind.

H. J. R.

Musée du Louvre; Céramique Cappadocienne. By HENRI DE GENOUILLAC. Vol. I, pp. 126; Pls. 21 + 4: 92 figures in text. Vol. II, pp. 75; Pls. 57 with 8 coloured; 178 figures in text. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926. Vol. I fr. 150; Vol. II, fr. 250.

The first volume is a catalogue of the pottery excavated and collected by Chantre, the second of the other Cappadocian pottery in the Louvre. Both volumes are a welcome contribution to one of the most intriguing, least explored branches of archaeology.

The greater part of Chantre's finds come from Kara Enyuk: some are already known from his *Mission en Cappadoce*. The antiquities described in Volume II come from various sources, and are here treated more fully. M. de Genouillac has made an exhaustive study of the material and divided it on technical and stylistic grounds into twenty-seven groups. Any classification which does not rest on observation of a stratified site can, of course, be only regarded as temporary. The author himself admits that the chronology may need revision. But even if readjusted and corrected in the course of time, many of the distinctions between the fabrics will still be useful.

We should have been better able to appreciate them, however, had the members of each class been less widely scattered among the illustrations. It is not always easy to see on what principle the objects in each plate are collected together. It is rarely date, fabric or style, and not always height. Altogether the illustrations are disappointing. In these days of expensive printing we are astonished to find how few people realise that to arrange a few objects in a large space is not only extravagant but also unsightly.

The notes on the connexions between Cappadocian pottery and that of other countries are suggestive so long as the author does not rely, as he too often does, on text-books instead of personal observation. A few quaint theories stray in, rather refreshing in this scientific age: for instance, that whereas the Cretans used the running spiral to typify the sea, the Mycenaeans meant it to indicate clouds, either dusty or celestial. And what is this on p. 40 about the Treasury of Atreus at Troy, and on p. 48, 'l'art mycénien de Troie II'?

But, after all, the main part of the book is the catalogue, and here, especially in Vol. II, the author's knowledge of technique and careful observation combine to make good descriptions. It is a pity other authors do not follow his example in defining terms and avoiding confusion between slip, polish, etc. We are indebted to him for two handsome, comprehensive and useful books.

Greek Printing Types: 1465-1927. By VICTOR SCHOLDERER. Pp. 21; 80 facsimiles and 2 specimen pages. London: by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1927. 21s.

This volume is to be the permanent record of the exhibition recently arranged in the King's Library at the British Museum to illustrate the development of Greek typography from the

invention of printing down to the present day; it is also the means of introducing to the public a fount called the 'New Hellenic' designed by Mr. Scholderer and produced by the Lanston Monotype Corporation.

Mr. Scholderer's introduction and the facsimiles that follow it enable us to trace each step in the progress of Greek printing from the extremely crude experiments of Fust and Schoeffer and the more intelligent efforts of Sweynheym and Pannartz in the Subiaco Lactantius (both dating from 1465); through the rapid advances of Lignamine, Woudelin and Jenson (whose *Anulus Gallius* of 1472 is one of the first Greek printed books deserving serious consideration as a work of art); through a series of books printed in founts more or less directly inspired by contemporary handwriting, for the most part with unsatisfactory results; to that landmark, the Complutensian *Musaeus* (c. 1510), the highest achievement of the formal style invented by Jenson. From this point, unfortunately, the cursive school of design carried all before it for the best part of three hundred years; the Jensonian system, with its economy of matrices based upon a recognition that printing and writing are distinct arts, gave place to the extravagance, formlessness and illegibility of the French Royal Greek type derived from the cursive founts of Aldus and introduced by the Estiennes about the middle of the sixteenth century. It is extraordinary that so cumbersome a system, with its multitudes of contractions and ligatures (Estienne used 82 belonging to the α alone!), should have enjoyed so protracted a vogue; the Foulis Homer (1756) is almost the first attempt to break away from the senseless elaboration of the cursive style, but once made it was immediately followed by a great variety of simplified cursive forms without ligatures and contractions. It is unfortunate that Bodoni's great prestige in the latter half of the eighteenth and the earlier half of the nineteenth centuries should have encouraged the widespread use of the flimsy, ill-proportioned character of which he was the inventor; the Didot and Teubner types, both as unattractive as they were popular, are to be traced back to Bodoni. In England the influence of Porson maintained a higher standard throughout the nineteenth century. The 'Griechische Antiqua' of Pinder (c. 1850) and its modern variant used by Teubner, the so-called Macmillan Greek, the fount commissioned by the Prussian Academy of Sciences, the type used by the Association Budé, and last the 'New Hellenic,' all illustrate the modern tendency to revert to an upright letter from the sloping character in use since the days of Estienne.

The stately type designed by Procter for the Oxford *Odyssey* of 1900 and Herr Wingand's elegant (but over-calligraphic) letter used in the Bremer Presse Homer of 1923 are suitable only for *éditions de luxe*; Mr. Scholderer's 'New Hellenic' is intended for commercial and popular use. It is based on the Venice Macrobius of 1492 and is pleasant in appearance and easy to read, especially since the improvement in the shape of the δ ; in its first form (as shown in the facsimile 58) it was too near the λ , but the specimen pages show that this defect has now been rectified.

The book is beautifully printed and illustrated, and the generosity of the Lanston Monotype Corporation in producing the whole issue at their own expense has enabled the Trustees of the British Museum to put it on sale at the very moderate price of a guinea.

The Treasure of the Oxus. By O. M. DALTON. 2nd edition. Pp. lxxvi + 75; 40 plates and 81 figures in the text. London: by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1926. 25s.

The second edition of Mr. Dalton's catalogue of the Treasure of the Oxus is a good deal more than a revised version of the original publication which appeared in 1905. The valuable introduction, which in itself constitutes a complete history of the origins and development of Sassanian art, has been largely rewritten in the light of recent research, and the scope of the catalogue has been extended to include silver objects from Armenia, Persia, Bactria, Siberia and N.W. India which the British Museum has acquired in the course of the last twenty years. The most notable of these additional pieces are the Bactrian lion-griffin (Pl. XXV.) given by the National Art Collections Fund in 1913; the thick silver bowl given by Mr. Max Bonn in 1912 (Pls. XXIX.-XXXI.), which Mr. Dalton ascribes (partly upon the evidence of the Brahmi inscription) to the beginning of the fifth

century A.D.; and the dish from N. India (Pl. XL) given by the National Art Collections Fund in 1922, and perhaps post-Sassanian in date.

The plates in the second edition are more agreeable in colour than those in the first; but in at least one instance (Pl. XXII) the detail was clearer in the old reproduction.

Notes on Greek Sculpture. By SIR CHARLES WALETON. Cambridge University Press, 1927. 3s. 6d.

These two posthumous papers contain little to justify their separate publication. The first is hardly more than a recapitulation of the old controversy as to whether statues of the Choiseul-Gouffier type represent Apollo in his athletic functions or idealised portraits of athletes dedicated to Apollo. Waleton's arguments are chiefly based on their style of hairdressing; but since he admits that the Apollo from the Olympia pediment (unquestionably a god) and the Choiseul-Gouffier statue (according to him, a boxer) are in this respect identical, the force of his distinction is somewhat impaired. In view of the Greek tendency to humanise the divine and to divinise the human, the dispute is in any case purely academic. In the second paper he tries to identify a marble-draped female figure at Burlington House as belonging to the Nereid Monument; or if not that, as dating at least from the second half of the fifth century B.C. It looks much more like good average work of the early Hellenistic period.

R. H.

Studien zu den attischen Reliefs. By ERNST KJELLBERG. Pp. viii + 151, with 18 plates. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri. 1926. Kr. 7.50.

In choosing so ambitious a subject for his inaugural dissertation Dr. Kjellberg has undertaken a task which he is as yet scarcely equipped to accomplish; for although in theory his chief concern is with the base of Agorakritos from the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, actually he has involved himself in a discussion of the whole art of relief (and indeed free) sculpture in the fifth century B.C. But if his book can hardly be credited with revealing any new principle of general application in this branch of study, he has said a great deal which was well worth saying on subjects as various as the Olympia pediments, the influence of Polykritos, the relation between the Parthenon metopes and the frieze of the Theseion, the chronology of Paionios, the frieze of the Nike temple, the Niobid relief in Leningrad, and many others. Sometimes his decisions will find general acceptance: as when he combats Schrader's rash conjecture in assigning the frieze and E. pediment of the Parthenon to Alkamenes, and the W. pediment to Paionios; and when he gives a late date to the Nike frieze (about 420). Elsewhere his conclusions are more disputable; his theory that the Theseion belongs to the 'forties will hardly gain the support of architects; and his dating of the Agorakritos fragments between 446 and 432 B.C. seems likewise too early. On the other hand, his proposal to bring the Nereid monument down to 360 errs in the opposite direction, though it shows a notable reaction from the reasoning which placed that puzzling group almost contemporary with the Parthenon. It is surprising that anyone who relies so much as Dr. Kjellberg does on minute differences of handling should place any trust in the Stockholm relief as a copy of the Agorakritos base; if anything so devoid of style can be classified at all, it would surely be safer to describe it as neo-Attic.

R. H.

Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst. By ERNST PFUHL. Pp. 31 and 12 plates. Munich: Bruckmann, 1927.

This is not one of Professor Pfuhl's *œuvres de vulgarisation*; the task of reading it is an austere spiritual exercise. An author who begins twice over, makes all his best points in the middle of his densest footnotes, and hides his conclusions in a thicket of bibliography

taxes his audience to the utmost; life is so short that unreadable writers are apt to remain unread. Yet one must read Professor Pfuhl; for his labyrinthine text contains a considerable number of new discoveries, of authoritative judgments, of penetrating observations on the whole art of ancient portraiture: we have noted a few of them and mention them here in the hope that students will be emboldened to give this book the close attention it deserves, but does not invite.

The existence of pronouncedly individualised types in archaic art cannot be used as evidence for an early developed sense of portraiture in the modern sense of the word; nothing is easier than to draw an accidentally irregular profile. We should also beware of interpreting as portrait caricatures such grotesque heads as the so-called Aescop on the Vatican kylix, the warrior with a fringe in New York, or the Charon on a white-ground lekythos in Athens; in the early classical period such caricatures are always religious or mythological, never merely social in significance. The same is true, according to Pfuhl, of the head of the old woman in the British Museum (Sculpture Cat. no. 2001); it is much more likely to be an ideal head than a portrait, and in any case has nothing to do with Demetrios of Alopeke. The first portrait-type on which we can place any reliance is that of Plato; Pfuhl gives reasons for supposing that it was the creation of Sillanion and dates from the early part of his career—that is, about 350, when Demetrios and Lysistratos were beginning to be active.

Professor Pfuhl's general observations on the Greek attitude to portraiture are excellent. In the features of an individual, as such, the Greeks before the time of Alexander took little interest; 'das Ideal ist erreicht, wenn ein grosses Individuum einen neuen Menschentypus in sich verkörpert.' It follows as a corollary that for the portraiture of women and children we have to wait until the Roman period. His individual attributions and corrections are always independent and generally plausible, though he does not always vouchsafe his reasons for the changes he suggests: the so-called Attalos I from Pergamon (*Antikitäten von Pergamon*, VII., Pl. XXXI. 2) he identifies without explanation as Seleukos Nikator; on the other hand, his dating of the Arundel Sophocles in the second century B.C. (along with the Homer) is immediately convincing.

Plotinus. Translated by STEPHEN MACKENNA. Vol. IV. *The Divine Mind* (Ennead V). Pp. 104. London: The Medici Society, 1926. 12s. 6d.

Those who are interested in mystical philosophy will welcome this fourth instalment of Mr. MacKenna's noble rendering of Plotinus. The treatises of the Fifth Ennead are mainly concerned with the doctrine of Spirit and its relation to the One, and thus contain the very core of the Plotinian system. It is unnecessary to repeat what has already been said of the high qualities of style which distinguish Mr. MacKenna's work and of his skill in disentangling the intricacies of his author. As in the previous volumes, Mr. MacKenna refuses to mar the splendour of his page with footnotes or to give an appendix of readings, so that we do not always know exactly what he is translating. In viii. 9 (Volkmann, p. 242, l. 22) all texts give ἀνεπίστατον ἀνθρώπου (verae potentiae ignorantiae, Ficinus),—but Plotinus seldom uses ἀνεπίστα in this sense, and just above ἀνεπίστον means 'infinite'. The words are represented in the translation by 'through their failure in the true power.' Mr. MacKenna, without telling us, has altered ἀνεπίστα to ἀνεπίστατον. This simple emendation, which a reference to the context will show to be correct, has hitherto occurred to no one.

Mr. MacKenna's translation is not faultless. In the following passages, for example, correction appears to be necessary. In iii. 4 γράμματα does not mean 'radii,' the Greek for which is ῥαδιαί, but 'writings' or 'engravings'; op. γεγραμμένα, rendered by 'engraved' just below. iii. 9, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς ἀστέρων σφαίρας τὸ ἀπὸ αὐτῆς εἰς αὐτῆς ἀναπέμπει, 'while it' (sc. the soul) 'pours downwards upon the sphere of magnitudes (that is, of Matter) the light playing about itself which is generated from its own nature.' This seems wholly wrong. The meaning must be that the soul is an image of the Divine Intelligence, 'resembling the light next to the sun's extended orb, shining about it and generated from it.'

The sense of the next paragraph is misconceived: 'we must take it that all the light, including that which plays about the sun's orb, has travelled (*ἐν ἄλλῳ*); otherwise we have a void expanse, that of the space—which is material—next to the sun's orb.' But by *ἐν ἄλλῳ* Plotinus means 'in the air,' as he tells us a few lines below, and *κενὸν σῶμα* means 'together.' In order to avoid having a space empty of body next the sun.' In iii. 16 (p. 41, l. 9; V. p. 290, l. 8) Mr. MacKenna has missed the sense of a passage which means, 'If the One be not a Reason-Principle, how can a Reason-Principle come from what is not a Reason-Principle?'—a meaning which he has unnecessarily imported into the preceding sentence. iii. 17, *τοῦτο τὸ αὐταρκτὸς ἐκ πάντων ἔξω ἐστίν*, 'the maker of all must have a self-sufficing existence outside of all things.' This should rather mean 'for the Creator the self-sufficiency of a totality (*i.e.* *νοῦς*) is external.' In v. 9, 'so as not to be pointed off to hold them part for part' seems a curious phrase for *οὐκ ἐκκεδίσθη εἰς αὐτά*. v. 10, *ὅταν μὲν ὁρᾷς, ὅλον βλέπεις*, 'in ordinary vision you may think to see the object entire.' Why should this not mean 'when you behold Him, behold Him entire'? Mystical vision is contrasted with the intellectual act. viii. 3, *ἤδη προῖόν καλλοῖ*, 'of more advanced loveliness,' should be rendered by 'already issuing in loveliness.' Plotinus is speaking of the realisation of the Idea of Beauty in a good soul. viii. 6, *τὴν ἐκείνου διέξοδον*, not 'the mode in which the Supreme goes forth,' but 'an exposition of the following truth,' as is proved by other examples of *διέξοδος* and *διεξοδος* in the chapter as well as by the sense required. viii. 7, *καὶ παντός δι' ἧν, ὡς ἂν πᾶν*, 'the Exemplar was the Idea of an All and so an All must come into being.' *ὡς ἂν πᾶν* means nothing more than 'as being All.' *ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔχει ὡς ἐστίν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὰ ἔχει καλῶς*, 'because the All is what it is, therefore there is a total of good.' This misses the force of *αὐτὰ*, and we should rather render by 'because yonder world is what it is, things here too are good.' viii. 9, *ὥστε ἵνας ὁρῶντες προφανομένους, ὡς τῆς ἔξω σφαίρας*, 'so that whatever comes into view shall show as it were the surface of the orb over all.' The passage of course means 'so that when any one thing comes into view, for instance, the sphere which bounds the universe, there follows at once the vision of the sun, stars, etc.' viii. 13, 'Ignoring this lower world, Kronos (Intellectual-Principle) claims for his own father (Ouranos, the Absolute, or One) with all the upward-tending between them.' The Greek *ἵσταί τε τὸν πατέρα εἰς ἐκείνην* suggests that 'himself' has dropped out between 'for' and 'his own father,' and Ouranos is certainly a misprint for Ouranos. There is probably corruption in the original here. ix. 11, 'The imitative arts . . . are, largely, earth-based; on an earthly base; they follow models. . . . There is something wrong here. Should the semi-colon after 'earthly base' be omitted, to lessen the tautology? ix. 12, *τὸ δὲ καλλίστητον, ὅτι μὴ το αὐτὸ ἄλλο ἄλλῳ ὅσον ὅτι ὁ μὲν σιμῶς, ὁ δὲ γρυπῶς*, 'under the heading of individuality there is to be considered the repetition of the same feature from man to man, the simian type, for example, and the equine.' This rendering, which omits *μὴ*, is definitely wrong. The meaning obviously is 'individuality is due to the fact that one thing is not the same as another, one man, for example, being simian, etc.' ix. 14, *καὶ γὰρ ἔπου δύνανται*, 'but producing where it may,' a rendering which is not only very obscure in its context but also mistranslates *γὰρ*. The words mean 'at least the Soul produces natural things where it can.'

We are glad to note that among books to which Mr. MacKenna feels particularly indebted is Caird's *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*; for Caird's section on Plotinus seems to me one of the soundest things ever written on this philosopher.

J. H. S.

Die Platonische Liebe. By ROSE LAGERBERG. Pp. xii + 295. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1926. 12.50 m. (15 m. bound.)

Quia carnis amixta, necesse est ut cupiditas vel amor noster a carne incipiat. These words, quoted by the author from St. Bernard, may fairly be taken as the text round which this book is written. The sublimation of earthly love into philosophical and religious mysticism is Dr. Lagerberg's theme, and at the outset he finds it necessary to examine what is euphemistically known as 'Greek love,' and the social conditions which encouraged it.

Spartan methods of education, as Plato himself admits, were largely responsible, and the average Greek woman, lacking any special gifts of mind with which to reinforce her physical attractions, was likely to prove uninteresting to the 'intellectuals' of the day. No woman ever awakened in Plato spiritual love, says Dr. Lagerborg, and he refers for proof to the cold-blooded treatment of women in the *Republic*. The importance of love as a factor in Greek higher education cannot be overestimated. Starting as a lover, professedly at least and sometimes perhaps half ironically, Socrates became the beloved and thereby was able to lead the young to what was best for them. Plato sets an equally high value on the love of boys: 'throughout life he protected it as a spiritual longing'; and he carried the ennoblement of this love further than Socrates. 'The Socratic love remained the love of an educator. Plato succeeded in extracting from the base raw material the highest which the human soul can reach—his exalted religious mysticism.' Devotion to a woman, as with Dante, can of course produce the same result, but Dr. Lagerborg is of opinion that homosexual attraction can be more easily transferred from personal to supra-personal objects than heterosexual inclinations. However that may be, the ultimate aims of Platonic and Christian mysticism are fundamentally the same, in witness whereof Dr. Lagerborg appeals in particular to St. Francis de Sales, though of course the Christian type is marked by devotion to a Person rather than to an impersonal idea. The passage from earthly to heavenly love is traced by the author with a wealth of illustration from classical, mediæval and modern sources. He is necessarily led into the dark places of psychology. The chief question discussed in his last chapter is whether sacred love is developed exclusively from the sexual instinct. Not so long ago 'scientific' writers generally thought that it was, though why sex should stultify itself in the way which they assumed is far from clear. The old view, however, is now generally given up. Even Freud, ever ready to ferret out the sexual, does not hold it, and Spranger agrees that the erotic (in the higher sense of the word) is no function of the sexual, the sexual no function of the erotic. Of course sexual elements often intrude into religious erotic, as readers of mystical effusions are only too well aware, but on the other hand, as the author dryly remarks, earthly lovers sometimes speak in the language of religion. The nature of the subject, at least in the present state of psychological knowledge, precludes any very definite conclusions, and if the reader rises from his perusal of the last chapter feeling but little the wiser, the author is hardly to blame. The book is a most conscientious study of the subject, scholarly, sane and fairminded. It is also packed with information about other people's opinions—and sometimes rather silly opinions, which do not help us much towards knowledge. An appendix of 70 pages of notes, references and further quotations concludes the work.

J. H. S.

Epicurus: the extant Remains. With short critical apparatus, translation and notes by CYRIL BAILEY. Pp. 432. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. 21s.

Mr. Bailey was first attracted to Epicurus by way of Lucretius many years ago and set about making his own text, translation and commentary, after the fashion of scholarship in this country. Here he gives us a first gathering of the results, with the hope that it may be followed up by a set of critical essays in due time. Three-fifths of the volume is occupied by the commentary, which is primarily concerned with 'making it clear where the problems lie,' and therefore contents itself for the most part with setting forth and appraising the views of previous editors. This work is very judiciously done, and in view of the great difficulties of the subject Mr. Bailey was doubtless right in not attempting anything 'definitive': the time for a standard commentary on the whole of the Epicurean texts is not yet. Especial praise is due to the translation, which can claim to be the first English rendering of all the extant documents, including the *Life of Epicurus*. Fragmentary as they are, these writings convey a curiously vivid impression of the man, so original in many ways, so whimsical in others, and so modern in his contempt for the metaphysicians and insistence on the physical basis of human life. Mr. Bailey should redeem his promise of a volume of essays as soon as possible.

There are a few minor errors in the introduction. The scholar who assisted Froben of Basel in the preparation of the first edition of Diogenes Laertius was Matthew Aurigallus (Goldthelm), not 'Aurigathus,' and this same *editio princeps* appeared in 1533, not 1523 (pp. 11, 12). It might also have been mentioned that the Latin translation or paraphrase of Diogenes by Ambrosius Camaldulensis was in print as early as 1475.

V. S.

The Antigone of Sophocles, translated by HUGH MACNAUGHTEN. Pp. xxv + 45. Cambridge University Press, 1926. 2s.

The Bacchantes of Euripides, rendered into English in the original metres by MARGARET KIMMIST TENNANT. Pp. xi + 81. London: Methuen & Co., 1926. 3s. 6d.

The Vice-Provost of Eton intends his translation of the *Antigone* primarily for boys and girls, and therefore works along simple lines, the blank verse running in the older tradition, which is sparing of resolved feet and elision and the choruses being rendered into rhymed stanzas of familiar pattern. The structural and dramatic points of the play are clearly brought out, and this is perhaps as much as can be hoped for; but even if the Sophoclean diction be an essence too volatile to bear transfer, no reader, however youthful, should nowadays be made to put up with 'O! King' and other phrases on a like level. The text is preceded by an analysis of the plot and characters, which accepts Dr. Rouse's theory that it was Iamene who sprinkled the first dust over the corpse of Polydices.

The translator of the *Bacchantes* is much interested in metrical problems, which she discusses separately in an appendix 'on quantity and accent,' and her chorus-rhythms not infrequently succeed in conveying some of the wild-wood quality of the original. In all probability, however, she would have done just as well, or better, if she had been at less pains to secure exact syllabic correspondence with the Greek and simply built up her lyrics on the main equivalents. These 'original metres' flatter to deceive. Can we ever know exactly what they were, the times connected with them being lost? For how many choruses as printed in the received texts can any certainty as regards line-divisions be claimed? And if this be so, what authority attaches to English stanzas reproducing these arrangements? The introduction is very inadequate and the suggestion that Pentheus is intended to symbolise Alcibiades needs more than the support of a phrase in Valerius Maximus to render it credible.

V. S.

Μελέται περί 'Ερμού. Ἡ Δούκισσα Τῆς Πλαίσαντος. By D. G. KAMPOUROGLOU. Pp. 256. Ἐν Ἀθήναις: Τυπογραφίαν 'Εστ-λα' 1925-27. (Also in separate form, 1927.)

The eminent historian of Turkish Athens has produced an authentic life of that strange personage of Othoman Athens, the Duchesse de Plaisance, whose eccentricities have provided material for both a German and a Greek novel and furnished About with some of his mordant witticisms. This biography possesses topical interest, for the 'Ilissia,' the Duchess' villa on the bank of the Ilissos, has just been converted into the Byzantine Museum under the direction of Professor Soteriou, and her country-house, 'Rododaphnes' on Pentelikon, has been talked of as a hotel. Thanks to three unpublished letters of the Duchess—two in the 'Gennadeion,' the third in the Finlay library—and to the Memoirs of her secretary, Bratsanos, afterwards chief of the Athenian police, besides a careful study of the travellers of the period, Mr. Kampouroglou has written not only a life of the Duchess but incidentally a most valuable work on the social life of Nauplia and Athens under Cape d'Istria and Otto respectively. Sophie de Marbois was born of a French father and an American mother at Philadelphia in 1785, and married in 1804 Lebrun, son of Napoleon's colleague in the Consulate and Duc de Plaisance. She did not get on with her husband, but was devoted to her only daughter, with whom she came to Greece in January, 1830, at the time when Nauplia was the capital, and after a visit to Aigina, then a literary centre,

left the country in May, 1831, after buying property in Athens with the intention of returning. She then visited Syria, and a reference in the journal of that name (il. 63) shows that she was at Broummana in the Lebanon in August, 1837. At Beyrouth in that year she lost her daughter, whose body she always carried about with her until it was burned in the fire which destroyed her first home in Athens, whither she went and settled down in 1837, as she states in her letter in the Finlay library. There she mixed in politics, on the side of Kolettis, shunned the Court, refused alms to beggars but endowed the needy members of great revolutionary families, built houses in Athens and on Pentelikon, was captured by the brigand Bibisi, as she narrates in her two letters now in the 'Gennadeion,' died in 1854, and was buried on Pentelikon beneath the monument which still stands near her villa. More fortunate in this respect than her rival, Lady Ellenborough, she has now obtained the honour of a full-length biography.

W. M.

Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University. Edited with translations and notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN and CASPER J. KRAEMER, Jr. Pp. ix + 287; 19 plates. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926.

This, the first independent volume of non-literary Greek papyrus texts to be published in America by American scholars (the Goodspeed Papyri were really part of a larger volume), deserves a hearty welcome. For the last seven years a steady supply of papyri has been passing to the United States, primarily to the University of Michigan, but other Universities have shared largely in the purchases, and though individual documents have been published in periodicals, these publications were only provisional, to be replaced later by volumes of collected texts. The present volume is the precursor, we may hope, of many such, and its editors are to be congratulated on the work they have accomplished. The editing of papyrus texts is a task which needs practice—lengthy practice if the papyri are very imperfect or in bad condition—and the volume under review is not free from errors, both of reading and interpretation, which longer experience would probably have prevented, but these faults are of less importance than the evidence here found of enthusiasm, industry, and the power of grappling with the often difficult problems of interpretation offered by mutilated papyrus texts.

To save the heavy costs of printing—for, contrary to received opinion, American Universities are often none too well supplied with funds—the volume is reproduced direct from typescript. The result, though not quite so pleasant in use as good print, is surprisingly satisfactory and quite legible. A very praiseworthy feature of the volume is the insertion of facsimiles in the body of the work, so far as possible opposite the transcripts. The texts are supplied with translations, and there are simple introductions and commentaries to each, and the usual indexes. Several of the documents are of considerable interest. The most notable is perhaps No. 1, a long account from the Zeno archive dated in 250 A.C. and previously edited separately by Westermann. It is now republished with improvements in the commentary due to suggestions in reviews, particularly those of Wilcken and Edgar. It is followed by three other Ptolemaic papyri, two of them from the Zeno archive. The remainder are of the Roman or early Byzantine period, chiefly the former. Among these No. 20, a long roll of returns of landed property for the census of A.D. 302, deserves special mention. (In l. 17 and in the corresponding place in all the subsequent returns $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ = $\mu\epsilon$ is certainly to be read in place of $\alpha\alpha\iota$; in col. ix, where three persons make a joint return, its use is due to the copying of a stereotyped formula.) There are also some good tax registers and several other documents, including private letters, which are of considerable value.

Professor Vitelli, in *Studi italiani*, N.S., V. fasc. 1, has published a number of corrections to the volume, including some excellent readings by Signorina Norsa. Further suggestions could be added, but this is hardly the place for them. It may, however, be pointed out that in l. 38 $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ 'Ἡρακλέα is probably to be read, which is an interesting example of an oath by the name-god, that the end of 11 appears to be lost (unless the document was never completed), so that the editors' suggestion to understand $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ and refer this clause

to the payment of taxes must be set aside, and that 12 is susceptible of a good deal of improvement, for which there is no room here further than to remark that the formula is probably ἀπολογιστὸν ὁ δέσιναις . . . Ἀρχαίος κ.τ.λ. rather than παρὰ τῶν δέσιναις.

The editors, by the introductions prefixed to the single texts, sometimes of considerable length, have added greatly to the value of their work. In questions of agriculture and land tenure they are particularly well equipped. The excellent facsimiles facilitate correction of several texts where correction is needed; but it is to be regretted that the papyri were not damped out adequately before photographs were taken. This should be the essential preliminary to any photographic work intended for permanent use.

H. I. B.

L'Impero Ateniese. By A. FERRARINO. Biblioteca di Scienze Moderne, No. 94. Pp. 470. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1927. 58 lire.

In this volume we have, not (as the bare title might suggest) an inquiry into the exact extent or constitutional framework of the Athenian empire in either its original or its developed form, but a masterly study of the spirit and changing policy of imperial Athens herself in the days both of her greatness and of her decline. The period covered thus stretches from about 451 B.C. to shortly after 403.

It soon becomes apparent that the author has brooded long and patiently over the available evidence, and has endeavoured to feel his way into the hearts and minds of those by whose action or inaction, by whose fears and hopes, by whose sagacity or folly the character of this momentous period was determined, as well as to exhibit the iron ring of inexorable circumstance by which all their efforts were bound. Ferrarino takes a severely right view of the historian's function. That function is not to argue that 'if Pericles had done this' or 'if the Athenians had not done that,' all would have been well. Accordingly he refuses to follow the 'hypothetical method' to which Thucydides occasionally has recourse, and he will not e.g. even raise the question whether Pericles could have acted otherwise. His task simply is to determine precisely *cio che fu fatto, e da chi, e perchè, e con quale successo* (pp. 55 n., 110 n., 323 *sub fin.*). Yet the characters of his story never become more lifeless puppets, driven helplessly forward by forces altogether outside their own control. They remain living and sensitive human creatures, reacting emotionally and intellectually, but chiefly emotionally, to all the external factors, geographical, economic and of other kinds, which were combining with their own aspirations and strivings to fashion out their destiny.

The result is that we receive from his hands a fresh, vivid and valuable survey of events during the second half of the fifth century B.C.: and in his picture, as many assuredly will agree, the outlines are generally truly and wisely drawn. The same satisfaction will not always be felt when scrutiny is turned to the details of his picture. Ferrarino is surprisingly free in his treatment of the evidence of Thucydides. An early and simple example occurs on p. 31, where he rejects the statement of Thucydides 1.58 that in 433 the Spartan authorities promised the Potidæan embassy to invade Attica if Athens proceeded against Potidæa; he rejects this datum, solely because in his view subsequent developments do not bear out the assertion—as if promises, important promises, were never made by governments and then conveniently forgotten! As his survey proceeds, this free handling of Thucydides comes more prominently into view. Thus he largely rewrites the story of Demosthenes' operations around Olpæ and Idomene in 426 B.C., believing that Thucydides' account is too faithful an echo of Demosthenes' own highly coloured reports and vauntings when that general returned victorious to Athens; and in particular he stigmatises the story of Demosthenes' secret pact with the Spartan commander which made possible the perilous escape of the Peloponnesian troops, as 'swarming with contradictions,' as 'motivated in a childish fashion,' as 'not responding to the most superficial critical examination' (p. 146 n.). If this be so, what are we to think of the critical acumen of Thucydides, who knew Demosthenes and seems to have disliked the man, and yet relates this and other picturesque inventions of his as veritable fact, and that too though, as Ferrarino himself asserts, Thucydides' own statistical sense had been offended and his suspicious roused, by the exaggerated number of enemies reported slain? Other instances

might be cited where Ferrabino feels constrained to depart from the testimony of Thucydides, but perhaps the most startling of all is his refusal to believe that in 411 B.C. Alcibiades made the suppression of democracy one of the original conditions of his securing Persia's alliance for Athens. 'It is,' he writes (p. 359 n.), 'highly incredible, and contradicts the whole course of subsequent developments, that Pisander should proclaim so openly in Samos and at Athens the need of suppressing the democracy, and that the people should then accept it so coolly.' 'The truth is,' he continues, 'that there were at this time two policies in conflict: the democratic, very hostile to Sparta, but indulgent toward Persia; the oligarchic, on the contrary, indulgent toward Sparta but most hostile to Persia. Alcibiades, then as subsequently, rested himself on the first tendency,' and so accordingly must Pisander at first have done, being at the moment Alcibiades' ally. When we have jettisoned so much of the historian's evidence, the events of 411 and subsequent years will be seen to unroll themselves in a clear and comprehensible manner. But unfortunately for the writer of history, the actions of human creatures, whether as individuals or in communities, do not always display 'uno svolgimento netto e razionale'; and many who feel as acutely as Ferrabino the necessity of pondering critically the nature of Thucydides' probable sources, the difficulties he was under in collecting his material, the incompleteness and in some cases perhaps the unacceptable nature of his version of affairs, will also feel that Ferrabino often goes too far in scepticism, and in particular, that in dealing with the developments of 411 B.C., his desire to unearth a simpler logical coherence between events than Thucydides records renders his reconstruction highly improbable not only in many of its details, but also, to a degree unusual for him, in its general portrayal of the period. And it is not only when dealing with Thucydides that Ferrabino is sometimes tempted into following the 'high priori road.' His rather severe judgment upon Callistratus, the successor of Lysander as Spartan monarch, is heightened by his putting on one side, because it *non trova riscontro nei fatti* (p. 406 n.), Xenophon's and Plutarch's statement that Callistratus' experiences with Cyrus soon drew from him the vow that he would work for a reconciliation between Sparta and Athens as the one way of escape from submission to Persian arrogance. It was swiftly following death which deprived Callistratus of any opportunity of pursuing his newly avowed purpose.

So far it has been contended that Ferrabino is less conservative in the exclusion of evidence than the case warrants, but that happily the results of his attitude usually, though not always, affect the details rather than the essential truth of his picture of the period. It is not thereby implied that where he does take account of all the evidence, his judgment upon it will always command general assent. Let us take but one instance, out of the many vexed and difficult problems which the historian of fifth-century Athens is called upon to decide, the question of Pericles' personal responsibility for the outbreak of the Great War. English scholars are themselves divided, and some of them will welcome the vigorous and suggestive presentation by Ferrabino of his view that it was the increased audacity of the radical opposition within Athens itself, menacing Pericles' position at the head of the State, which persuaded him, in order to submerge this opposition and preserve his own supremacy, to turn his back upon fifteen years of pacific statesmanship and unleash the dogs of war. '*Incredibile scoppio l'evidenza: la guerra fu il cruento divorzio di quella opposizione*' (p. 55). In this I cannot follow him. It ignores too much the close connexion established by Thucydides between the collapse of the thirty years' peace and the quarrel between Corcyra and Corinth; and English readers at least should be able to appreciate how it was that the dangerous derangement of the naval situation in Greece which resulted from that quarrel, and which suddenly placed at Corinth's disposal the second strongest fleet in Hellas, forced the hand both of Pericles and of Athens, to whom unchallengeable superiority at sea was all in all. From that unforeseen creation of a great Corinthian fleet flowed the fatal stream of subsequent events. But this is not the place to amplify and force home this argument.

By none of these observations, however, is it intended to cloud the merits of this stimulating book. Ferrabino has one single fundamental theme: the inability of all the political leaders, of all the classes and parties that they led, to comprehend and to satisfy the real needs of the society of the day. One after another—Pericles, Cleon, Nicias, Alcibiades, along with Brasidas, Cleophon and the rest—they pass under his keen and

penetrating analysis, and evoke upon themselves his shrewd and illuminating judgments. If the supreme aim of the historian be to hold the mirror up to the past, and to show the very age and body of the time its form and pressure, Italian scholarship is to be complimented on a notable contribution towards the desired result.

P. A. S.

Letters on Religion and Folklore. By F. W. HASLUCK. Annotated by MARGARET M. HASLUCK. Pp. xii + 250, with 29 plates. London: Luzac & Co., 1926. 12s. 6d.

F. W. Hasluck was one of the most gifted members of the British School at Athens during the ten years preceding the war, and through his long tenure of office there as Assistant-Director and Librarian he endeared himself to several generations of students. His alert mind could always penetrate the weak points in the arguments of the authors he read, and his whimsical and allusive language made his comments and his own ideas all the more attractive. This volume contains a long series of typical letters written, mostly after his enforced retirement to Switzerland, to Professor R. M. Dawkins, and they deal with the subjects that came uppermost in Hasluck's mind during the later years of his life. In his early days as a student when preparing his monograph on Cyzicus he used to say that there were two styles in archaeology: the Graeco-Roman and the Catch-na-catch-man, and that he himself practised the latter as being the better. One can compare here the '*pluôt catholiques qu'orthodoxes*' of p. 1. These letters are an excellent illustration of his method of work, even when hampered by lack of a library, and in the toils of mortal disease, and show him catching as he could at all kinds of miscellaneous information culled from the most varied sources which could throw light on the subjects nearest to his heart. He says himself, 'I write to you very easily and have lots of time, of course. Really you get a sort of record of my reading and cogitations. I shall like to read them afterwards (it will be amusing to have it all dated).' We find many traces of his special love for dollars which he collected, of his interest in architecture, and above all of his researches on the interplay between Christianity and Islam, particularly on the Bektashi. Most of this latter was material for the projected book left incomplete at his death, which we are glad to learn will soon be published under the editorship of Mrs. Hasluck. The letters show the scholar at work, so to speak, in his shirt sleeves, thinking and talking about his work as he thinks. Naturally not all the ideas set down are meant to be taken seriously: they are scouting expeditions to feel the way, and he is inviting all the time comments from his correspondent. Several of the speculations propounded in one letter are frankly abandoned in a later. It is a little surprising that he did not come across the *Grammatica Albanica* by A. Stratton (p. 73) till 1918, though there had been a copy in the library of the British School at Athens some years before the war. Sometimes he seems to trust a little too much the tales of the travellers he read in spite of his keen critical instinct, but we must remember that these are letters and not a finished article passed by him for publication. As it is, all friends of Hasluck's will be glad to have this volume to browse in truffer fashion as he would have himself, and will fancy they still can hear the quick low tones of the now silent voice.

The book is charmingly illustrated with some of Hasluck's characteristic sketches. The only one which seems unworthy of him is Plate 25, which hardly does justice to the peculiar colour of Santorini. The notes supplied by Mrs. Hasluck aim only at interpreting the text for those unfamiliar with Hasluck's vocabulary and work, but others may find some of them of use. There are one or two errors which should be corrected in a future edition. George Finlay did not bequeath his library to the British School at Athens, which was not founded till ten years after his death, nor did Erotocritus write a romantic poem in Greek, nor is a *scute* a springless cart. And may we add one note of our own? 'Exegysm' on p. 293 refers to Hasluck's frequent description of a certain class of expositors as 'geysers,' and this pun suggests to him two lines below the word 'goose' applied to another scholar.

A. W.

The Cambridge Ancient History: edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock. Volume IV. *The Persian Empire and the West.* Volume V. *Athens, 478-401 B.C.* Volume VI. *Macedon, 401-301 B.C.* Pp. 698, 554, 648. Cambridge University Press, 1926 and 1927.

The very attempt to include three volumes of this great work in a single review requires a word of explanation, if not of apology. To deal faithfully with the detail of a single volume is a hard enough task for any scholar; make the one volume three, and there are few men alive fit to attempt it. Obviously, then, the present review aims at something quite distinct from such detailed criticism. The three volumes here discussed cover the whole of the central periods of Greek history, and it may be of interest and even of value to review at this point the general planning of the work and to estimate the impressions that it leaves on the mind. Of a lack of searching criticism of detail the editors have had little occasion to complain: a wider view and even an occasional word of praise may not be unwelcome for a change.

The habit of attaching a single name—'Persia,' 'Athens,' 'Macedon'—as label to a volume is open to obvious criticism, but its advantages seem to outweigh its defects. It challenges thought and focuses attention; and the reader, once alert, can make any necessary adjustments for himself. In Volume IV Persia is quite clearly and rightly the chief actor on the political stage. Just as Greece begins to emerge from the darkness of her political insignificance into a more ample life, the shadow of the Persian Empire falls across her path. Persia is by no means underrated, and a real sense of the greatness of Darius is left with us, even if his Scythian expedition still figures as little more than a fiasco. So far, admirable; but, when the second rôle is assigned to Athens, and Peloponnesian history is introduced as an adjunct to the Pisistratid rule at Athens, we are conscious of a serious error in proportion. Athens of the sixth century was hardly in any sense the centre of Greek life, and to make her so is to pay exaggerated tribute to the accidents of our tradition and to her later greatness. Possibly as a result of the same planning the outer Greek world has to be collected into one miscellaneous chapter, in which the most skilful handling of a scattered material cannot win through to any real unity. As some compensation for this we are offered an admirably clear view of Athenian development. Draco is allowed historical rank, not banished to the realms of myth—surely a wise course, when we know too little to justify extreme scepticism. Solon's reforms are convincingly expounded, except that his reform of the coinage is dissociated from his relief of debtors. This is so extremely unlikely *a priori* that nothing short of definite proof will suffice; and this is not forthcoming. Measures taken under the pressure of extreme need are very easily misinterpreted later, especially by authors jealous of the supposed dignity and credit of their country. Later, as we come down towards the battle of Marathon, we are rightly reminded of the extreme uncertainty of our knowledge, and in particular of the dates. But too much is sometimes built on slight and questionable evidence. The twenty ships sent by Athens to help the Ionians in revolt were, very probably, the maximum number that could reasonably be spared for overseas service; if so, a whole string of reasoning about parties in Athens breaks up. When we come to the Persian wars, we miss perhaps that inward quickening of the narrative which great events sometimes inspire; but we have at least quietness and dignity—far preferable to any forced rhetoric. A chapter on Carthage and Sicily and two on Italy and Etruria link on the West to the story, the two latter, in particular, very valuable, on condition that one can digest them; they are stiff. The subsidiary chapters on coinage, art and literature are full of interest, but, in this period, they are particularly hard to apply to the history. Their value to the general reader is a little difficult to assess.

In Volume V we listen again to one of the best known tales of history—that of the rise and fall of Athens. The general setting of the stage is inevitable here, with little room for variation; but the Cambridge History certainly succeeds in making us realize the story once again—not always quite in the old manner. In the early chapters we miss, perhaps, a full emphasising of some of the moments of importance: the narrative flows on over the quarrel between Athens and Sparta and the great Egyptian disaster, and, unless we already know, we may not quite realize that we are passing historical landmarks. This

fault, if it indeed exists, is one of style, not knowledge; but this is a point where style counts. The character of the democracy under Pericles is well examined and defended from extravagant charges; its liberal side is very well brought out. The effect of the admirable survey of the causes of the Peloponnesian War may be to reduce the war in our minds to something less than the heroic proportions in which Thucydides has taught the world to see it; but it seems to be essentially just. The war was probably not one of the nobler, inevitable tragedies—it is too easily to be traced to narrow prejudices and passions. The strategy of Pericles is criticised only on orthodox lines, and critics, who have actually lived through some phases of a war of attrition, may insist on more drastic questioning. If Pericles really regarded war as inevitable and necessary, is it possible to defend his passivity in waging it? At the very least, enterprises like that of Pylos should have been fostered from the first. But, if he regarded war as unnecessary and simply wished to assert the right of Athens to stand where she did, a little more defence, and less defiance, was indicated. It was not worth fighting a great war for the avowed objects of Pericles, unless that war was absolutely forced on him; and it was not. Both these chapters and the following ones, however, win and hold our interest. We follow with suspense the great adventure of the Sicilian expedition. Even in the last phase of the war we are made to realise the ebb and flow of the tide and the definite recoveries made at more than one point by Athens. The short description of the Athenian effort at Arginusæ is worthy of a great occasion.

The Sicilian expedition remains something of a mystery, explicable only in terms of the Thucydidean psychology of $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\gamma\epsilon$ and $\delta\epsilon\gamma\gamma$. Are not two factors commonly overlooked? One—a justifiable conviction in the minds of the imperialists at Athens, that no working agreement with Sparta could be reached, that a decision must be sought, and that there was no means of reaching such a decision at home. Two—Carthage. Was there not a definite plan to assert Athenian supremacy in Sicily by beating down Syracuse and then to champion the Western Greeks against Carthage? Athens might hope to achieve leadership against a national foe, as did Macedon later against Persia. It is remarkable how soon after the defeat of the Athenians the Carthaginian blow on Sicily fell.

The chapters on drama, philosophy, art and architecture contain many 'lumina ingenti,' beside much art. The survey of drama is distinguished both by wit and beauty, the chapter on art by a delightful freshness and absence of sentimental admiration. The chapter on Herodotus and Thucydides touches in some details of the historical picture. It is a great gain to have Herodotus set on his true level of greatness and Thucydides admired sincerely; this side of adulation.

The title of Volume VI, 'Macedon,' is hard to justify on formal ground, as for nearly half the period covered Macedon was a minor Power. But the editors are surely right at all costs in bringing out the real significance of the age. The clear and confident account of the Spartan and Theban hegemonies rightly makes no attempt to exalt its subject. Greece was still full of life, but she was wantonly mispending her energies. There may have been more hope for a salvation of Greece by political harmonisation than appears to us to-day, but it is hard to believe that the Peloponnesian league could have helped much as a model for a Council of all Greece.

With Philip of Macedon we feel that a new force has entered politics and that new horizons are seen to open up. Full justice is done to the genuine idealism and passion of Demosthenes—we can honour Philip, without dishonouring him. But Demosthenes must have known that it was not Philip the barbarian who was the danger, but Philip the man of military and political genius. It is hard to think that Demosthenes allowed himself often to look squarely at the facts. In the chapters on Alexander a standing reproach of many ancient histories is removed. The mean depreciation of grand achievement is exposed and we are allowed to see Alexander, one of the greatest personalities of history, setting out on one of its most splendid adventures. The serious nature of the Persian opposition and the real perils of the Macedonian army at Issus and Gaugamela are vividly portrayed. We are made to see that, although the Persian grant could be defeated, it was only by a great general with a disciplined army behind him. The growing adventure of the Eastern march is drawn for us, the terrible experiences of the Macedonian troops with the elephants of Porus—the climax, when the troops would go no further, the tragedies of the return march through the desert and of Alexander's schism with his

friends. Finally, an attempt is made to sketch the outlines of the great system which Alexander did not live to complete. We are left with a sense of his immense political significance—no mere individualist of unusual stature, but the vehicle of great historical forces. With his death there is a sudden drop in interest. Mr. Tarn tells a complicated story with fine skill and succeeds in making us realise the distinction and power of many of the actors on the stage; but there is a general lack of character among them which freezes sympathy.

Turning to the West, we have once more the modern picture of Dionysius I given us—the tyrant who, with all his ruthlessness and duplicity, yet saved Greece from the Carthaginian yoke. His contemporaries told a different story, and it is not obvious why we need correct it. Dionysius, regarded as a patriotic Greek, presents us with a series of riddles. But regard him as one of the tyrants, through whom Carthage ruled her province of Sicily, and there is far less difficulty. All we have to add is that he was a little more ambitious and grew at times more powerful than Carthage cared to see him. Fundamentally, Carthage and Dionysius I understand one another: they will never fight to a finish. The tetradrachms with the Arcturus and dolphins of Syracuse on the obverse, and the horse's head of Carthage and Punic legends on the reverse, deserve more careful attention than they have received. At the worst they might be considered as tribute from Syracuse to Carthage: at the best they seem to show a joint Syracusan and Carthaginian lordship over Sicily. Dionysius is only a great man of the Epigon type. The moral dignity of Dion comes as a relief after him and we find genuine repose in the selfless wisdom of Timoleon.

The chapter on the inauguration of Judaism succeeds in the main point—in making us realise the character and importance of the religious development of Judaism. The modern rewriting of the story, in correction of our documents, and the building up of history out of odd scraps and strays rather frightens a visitor to this field of history; but it may be justified by the special conditions of the study.

Beside art and architecture, philosophy and political thought and theory receive special treatment. In the chapter on this last subject some admirable reflections on autonomy and the beginnings of larger groupings may be made difficult for some readers by the author's fondness for abstraction in style. On VI. p. 506 we read: 'The political thought, immanent in political action, still owed allegiance to a belief in the sanctity of the self-governing and self-sufficing city-state.' Is this an improvement on the more direct: 'Statesmen still believed and acted on a belief in the autonomy of the city-state'?

A work of this scale and character challenges and must expect severe criticism. The ideal at which it aims is well-nigh impossible, its fallings away from it are obvious and inevitable. But this should not lead us to forget that we have before us a great achievement. The editorial board has performed its work with great skill; its hand is now so sure that even the lamented loss of the senior editor, to whom the general planning was, we believe, mainly due, may be expected to have no marked ill effect. There is much honest individual workmanship, some achievement of positive brilliance. Our last feeling must be one of deep gratitude for what is not only an encyclopædic contribution to knowledge, but a lighting of new lamps in our halls of ancient history.

H. M.

The Decline of the West. Vol. I. By OSWALD SPENGLER. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

Spenglers Untergang des Abendlandes. By EDUARD MEYER. Berlin: K. Curtius, 1925.

At this time of day, when the controversy raised by Spengler's theory of cycles, after having created in Germany a literature of portentous volume, is dying down, it would be inappropriate to embark on any discussion of it in this *Journal*. The only question which it is in place to ask here is whether this first volume of Spengler's work—the only one so far translated into English—contains anything of illumination for the study of Greek antiquity. My impression was that, though Spengler's general theory was built up on

a few traceable analogies in violent disregard of the facts of history as a whole, his exposition would yield by the way to a critical draught-net a certain number of clever and original observations on particular points which would make it worth while for a student of Hellenic things to drag these pages. That some such observations may be there in this sea of pretentious verbiage I would not even now deny, but my own search for them has not been fruitful: I have dived repeatedly but failed to bring up a pearl: someone else may have better fortune. I cannot, for instance, think that there is much worth in the contrast which Spengler is fond of making between the Egyptian soul as 'conspicuously historical in its texture' (because the Egyptians began earlier to make durable buildings of stone) and the Hellenic soul, which, Spengler tells us, was destitute of the historic sense and had no regard for anything but the present. 'The Egyptian plant-column was from the outset of stone, whereas the Doric column was wooden, a clear indication of the intense antipathy of the Classical soul towards duration' (p. 12). I doubt again whether such observations as the following on Plato could be offered to Professor Burnet or Professor A. E. Taylor as a valuable find. 'In Plato we fail to observe any conscious evolution of doctrine: his separate works are merely treatises written from very different standpoints which he took up from time to time, and it gave him no concern whether and how they hung together' (p. 14). 'Plato and Goethe stand for the philosophy of Becoming, Aristotle and Kant [for] the philosophy of Being' (p. 49). Is it any help to the clearer understanding of history when we are told, '*Homologous forms are: Classical sculpture and West European orchestration; the Fourth Dynasty pyramids and the Gothic cathedrals; Indian Buddhism and Roman Stoicism (Buddhism and Christianity are not even analogous); the periods of "the Contending States" in China, the Hyksos in Egypt and the Punic Wars; the age of Pericles and the age of the Ommyyads; the epochs of the Rigveda, of Plotinus and of Dante*' (p. 111). Some people may think that a pearl has been fished up when they are told that the use of the drill in later Greek sculpture meant a profound change of spiritual attitude, 'for whereas the chisel brings out the limiting surfaces and (*pro facto*) affirms the corporeal and material nature of the marble block, the drill, in breaking the surfaces and creating effects of light and shade, denies it' (p. 216), or that the use of personal pronouns with the verb in the later vulgar Latin was 'the first dawning of that personality-idea which was so much later to create the sacrament of Contrition and personal absolution. Thus "*ego habeo factum*," the insertion of the auxiliaries "*have*" and "*be*" between a deed and a deed, in lieu of the "*fecit*" which expresses activated body, replaces the world of bodies by one of functions between centres of force, the static syntax by a dynamic' (p. 263). That is the kind of thing which some people describe by the over-worked term 'suggestive': if they have use for it, there is, to be sure, plenty more of the same kind to be got out of these 428 crowded pages.

It may seem surprising that in the pamphlet coupled with Spengler's book at the head of this notice, a warm eulogy is pronounced upon Spengler by someone who in the (fish) of Ancient History speaks with the universally recognised authority of Professor Edmund Meyer. 'That I agree with the basic ideas of this mode of conceiving historical life was indicated at the outset.' We find, however, that, in spite of this, there is a good deal of Spengler which Professor Meyer could not help repudiating, and when one deducts these things, Spengler's whole theory is left rather badly damaged. Spengler is wrong, he says, in stating that the ancient world had no consciousness of being in a decline: such consciousness pervaded the literature of the Roman Empire. He is wrong in saying the Greeks had no historical sense. Who showed such sense more signally than Thucydides? With regard to the analogies which Spengler finds in such abundance, Professor Meyer utters a caution. Helpful such constructions may sometimes be, but very often the analogy is forced in a way to which the historical expert is bound to object: 'the historical process is far too manifold, the field of possibilities far too great, for analogy by itself to suffice for a reconstruction of the actual.' Spengler's doctrine that even mathematics are not universal, that each cycle of culture has its own mathematical system unintelligible to any other, that, Professor Meyer confesses, seems to him nonsense, as indeed it is. 'Mathematics as a science, indeed scientific thinking as a whole, is a creation of the Greeks exclusively, and thus every science existing upon earth goes back to the movement of mind which took place in the Greek world from the middle of the sixth century to the

end of the fourth.* This would seem to dispose of an essential part of Spengler's theory—that there is no continuity of progress between one culture-cycle and another. The significance of Rome, Professor Meyer says, Spengler has quite failed to discern. The Roman soul was different from the Greek. Under the alien Hellenistic shell it asserted itself in the great works of Latin literature—'genuine Roman creations by the side of which Hellenism can set nothing of the same kind or the same value.' So too with the system of the Roman State.

But if in so many vital respects Professor Meyer sees Spengler to be wrong, what does it mean that he expresses agreement with his 'basic ideas' and welcomes his work as a great contribution? One can hardly doubt that the answer to this question is that Professor Meyer is not only a great Ancient Historian, but a passionate German nationalist, and that where his nationalist passion comes in, he is capable of extraordinary aberrations, as the ridiculous book *England*, which he put forth during the war, showed. Spengler's book maintains that Western civilization as a whole has entered on its ultimate decline; appearing just after the catastrophe, it chimed with the mood of pessimism which prevailed at that time in German nationalist circles: the things on which Spengler poured scorn—democracy, parliamentarism, etc.—were just the things which those circles too hated. Had Professor Meyer judged Spengler's work coldly, purely as an Ancient Historian, his verdict would probably have been very different.

Up to the outbreak of the war, Professor Meyer tells us in this pamphlet, he had himself believed in the future of modern civilisation. 'By the outbreak of the World War the writer was roughly awakened from his dreams: since August 4, 1914, it has become certain that modern European culture passed its highest point in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and has now entered upon its declining phase. . . . ' Just this moment of inner disintegration Spengler has depicted in brilliant fashion, in the sections concerned with a criticism of the views now prevalent—the chapters on the State and Politics, on democracy and parliamentarism with its profitless party scheming, on the omnipotence of the Press, on the nature of the big modern city, on economic life, money and machines. His damning judgment I absolutely share: perhaps I see the future of our people in darker colours even than he.' Obviously Professor Meyer's attitude to Spengler is determined by other considerations than the question how the evidence of ancient documents bears on his ambitious erections of theory.

E. R. B.

Epitymbion Heinrich Swoboda dargebracht. Pp. xiv + 385. Reichenberg: Gebirder Stiepel, 1927.

This handsome volume, intended for Swoboda's seventieth birthday, has appeared as a tribute to his memory. It is a worthy memorial to his self-sacrificing labours in Greek constitutional history. The variety of its contents cannot receive just measure from one reviewer. The largest paper is M. San Nicolo's important and interesting treatment of the powers of jurisdiction possessed by guilds in Hellenistic Egypt. Other historical items are V. Ehrenberg's revision of his views on the Spartan laws, W. Judeich's suggestive paper on the influence of political considerations on the choice of names at Athens (add E. Harrison, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 1925, 18 f., on Εὐκλείδης), J. Keil's remarks on the history of Thucydides considered in the light of recent events, Lehmann-Haupt's revision of his views on the Cleonidean wars, W. Otto's indication of a Ptolemaic missing link between the custom of both the Persian royal house and the Roman principate of fire being carried before the ruler, A. Stein's discussion of the social position of ἀρχαῖοι, E. Weiss re-edits and discusses the Delian ἱερὰ στυγερὰ, A. Wilhelm applies his brilliant acumen to a Tenian inscription about mills on the island. R. Heberdey shows that Dionysios 161a in *P.W.* must be struck out of the list of Greek artists, and makes the interesting suggestion that ἑρπύωνες in two inscriptions of Termessus Major means 'offered a victim with gilded horns.' K. Holminger explains τὸν Ἡρακλεῶδον τὸν Πηγάδιον in Arist. *Plat.* 385 as a reference to the painting by Apollodorus. Pamphilus is introduced πρὸς ποδοδράκην in allusion to his defence when put on his trial for falling in Arginus. A. Gotsmich studies the influence of the shape of vessels on the decoration in Minoan

Crete, and employs considerations of this kind for the dating of Attic B.F. vases. C. Praschniker uses *Prot.* 311C as evidence that the prosecution of Phidias cannot have happened earlier than 432 or 432. Th. Hopfner argues for the priority of the Xenophontine *Symposium* to the Platonic, while E. Martini in an appendix to a paper on Ovid collects the scanty evidence for the subjective erotic elegy in Alexandrine literature; J. Jüthner discusses *Finl. Pyth.* II. 80, *Soph. Aj.* 85, *Anth. Plan.* 295, and O. Stein the wondrous Indian peoples recorded by *Scylax*.

Reisch's suggestions on the text of the Sibylline oracles embody valuable metrical and linguistic observations. Kalinka argues that Greek virgin goddesses owe their virginity to the Indo-Germanic invaders. S. Reiter argues that the title of Philo's *Legatio* in Eusebius should be 'Ἀρχὴν (ἑξὸς) πᾶσιν', 'the first book of God's wondrous works,' and proposes an attractive explanation of *Dresser, Inscr. lat. vol.* 3851. M. Adler also publishes notes on Philo.

In addition to contributions concerned with Greek studies there are papers on Roman subjects, of which Rehm's discussion of the Roman peasant calendar and its influence on the Julian calendar, and Laqueur's treatment of the two versions of the Edict of Milan should here be mentioned, and non-classical papers. The funeral baked meats were not stinted.

A. D. N.

Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. By FELIX JACOBY. Zweiter Teil. Zeitgeschichte. A, Universalgeschichte und Hellenika; C, Kommentar. Pp. ix + 507, Anhang, pp. 7 + 340. Berlin: Weidmann. 40 m. (together).

Volume I of this great undertaking has been before the public for six years. Its arrangement, which bears the stamp of one of the strong personalities in the world of scholarship, has provoked not a little criticism, some of it instructive (as, for instance, W. Weber, *Phil. Week.*, 1924, 204 ff.). The cross-references to Müller now very properly appear, and text and commentary are in separate volumes. Otherwise the work goes its own way. It is certainly good that Jacoby has refused to print under the names of Ephorus or Posidonius all that modern criticism ascribes to them; one of the many functions of such a collection is to furnish a trustworthy standard whereby to check such attributions. In the present volumes there is much not in Müller: perhaps the chief surprise is the suggested ascription of the *Oxyrhynchus* history to one Daimachos of Plataea. The commentary, which is free from trivial and irrelevant erudition, is highly suggestive. It includes vigorous characterisations of the figures who emerge clearly; those of Ephorus and Posidonius are very attractive. No student of Greek history can dispense with Jacoby's *Fragments* or fail to wish him well with its continuation.

A. D. N.

Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs, publié sous la direction de J. BIDEZ, F. GUMONT, A. DELATTE, J. L. HEIBERG, et O. LAGERCRANTZ. II. Les manuscrits italiens décrits par G. O. ZURETTI avec la collaboration de O. LAGERCRANTZ, J. L. HEIBERG, J. HAMMER-JENSEN, D. BASSI, et E. MARTINI. Pp. vi + 369. Bruxelles: Lambertini, 1927.

This catalogue is one of those works which no one who is not a collaborator is qualified fully to appraise. It and its fellows give us the basis for a revision and enlargement of Berthelot's *Alchimistes grecs*. The present volume includes a description of Vaticanus 1134, which is of importance, and much new material for the text of the *Colonnides*. We wish this enterprise speedy progress.

Sallustius concerning the Gods and the Universe. Edited with Prolegomena and Translation by ARTHUR DABRY NOCK. Pp. cxviii + 48. Cambridge University Press, 1926.

Mr. Nock has presented us here with an extremely thorough and complete commentary on a very small, though important and difficult, text. There must be few Greek scholars who will not learn from it a great deal that is new to them.

An edition of Sallustius was certainly needed. Mr. Nock quotes words to that effect both from Gilbert Murray, who published a rough provisional text in 1912, and from Prechter's article in Pauly's *Encyclopædia*. The *Prolegomena* consist of 40 pages on the intellectual background of Sallustius, and 55 on a philosophical analysis of the content of the treatise, followed by shorter discussions of the source and authorship, the style, and the form of the treatises. The text is certainly an improvement on any that hitherto exists, and is likely to remain authoritative. The philosophical analysis not only makes the treatise itself clearer, but brings it into intelligible relation with contemporary thought. The only part of the work which, on first impressions, seems to the present writer not convincing is the argument that Sallustius made no direct use at all of either Plotinus or Porphyry. The form and style are of some historical interest. Sallustius, whom Mr. Nock, agreeing with previous editors, accepts as being the friend of the Emperor Julian, was writing just at the time when the various Christian creeds were in process of formulation. One would like to know Mr. Nock's opinion of the influence exercised by them on Sallustius's Pagan Creed. It was also a time intermediate between the old rhetoric with its avoidance of hiatus and its quantitative clauses, and the Byzantine style with its regard to nothing but stress accent. The clauses are mostly accental, but a regard for quantity remains.

The book is a very thorough and learned piece of work, and a valuable contribution to knowledge.

Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter. By Dr. FRIEDRICH FUCHS. (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, Heft 8.) Pp. vi + 79. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1926.

This is a valuable monograph, which meets a distinct need. It traces the history of education, particularly higher education, at Constantinople from the time of Theodosius II to the capture of the city by the Turks. The book is thoroughly documented and will be indispensable to all students of Byzantine education, but suffers from its very thoroughness in not being as readable as might have been hoped, considering the attractive nature of the subject. It must be allowed that this drawback is in some measure due to the scattered nature of the sources, and also to the fact that, though we have much information of a general character about Byzantine higher education, there is a rather disappointing deficiency of detail. Nevertheless a study of this book will dispel illusions in many minds. The Byzantines were not only theologians and rhetoricians, but they also laid considerable stress on a thorough literary training and on the study of mathematics and allied subjects, and also on medicine. In the course of the long history of the Empire education had a chequered career. Under Theodosius II the Professors taught chiefly Greek and Latin Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy and Law, and the University of Constantinople was in close touch with its sister Universities of Alexandria, Athens and Beirut. Under Phocas the University was suspended, but was revived under Heraclius, probably under the title of the 'Oecumenical School.' It was suppressed by the Iconoclasts in 726, but reappeared again at intervals from the time of the Emperor Theophilus. A new University was created by the Caesar Bardas and Leo the Wise, and of this the most distinguished ornament was Photius; it continued to the time of Basil Bulgaroctonus. In the eleventh century another revival of University activity set in under Constantine Maniakes, the encyclopædic Psalms being its heart and soul. This was the most flourishing period of Byzantine University life, and the studies embraced Grammar, Classical literature, Rhetoric, the various branches of Mathematics, Music, Physics, Law and Theology. Academic calm, however, was not undisturbed by professorial recriminations. Not the least interesting part of the book are the sections dealing with branches of profane learning pursued at the Patriarchal School and the High School of the Church of the Apostles. A feature of the restored Greek Empire after 1204 is that of the monastic schools, and here the names of Nisephorus Blemmydes and Planudes stand out prominently. Finally, it is shown how important was the influence exercised, despite the general decline of education at Constantinople, by Greek scholars, such as Plethon and Argyropoulos, upon the revival of learning in Italy. The book is furnished with a useful index.

Greece, Old and New. By ASHLEY BROWN. Pp. 245, with 20 plates. London: Methuen & Co., 1927. 12s. 6d.

This book has the dryness of a Baedeker without its conciseness, its portability or its maps.

The author, unable to speak modern Greek, stays at the Grande Bretagne; the atmosphere of that most sumptuous hotel breathes through the pages of the earlier chapters, while he himself, in the intervals of sight-seeing, deplors the absence of a 'great store on the lines of Harrod's or Barker's.' He leaves Athens to tour the regulation sites of the Peloponnese in a motor car: the historical associations, antiquities and travelling facilities of Olympia, Corinth, Nauplia, etc., are described at some length. For the sites in Northern Greece the car is, of course, abandoned, but the Simplon Orient Express is recommended, where possible, in its stead.

With regard to the modern aspect of Greece, ignorance of the language and the manner of travelling prevent more than a superficial knowledge of the people.

The best thing in the book is the account of Sir Frederick Halliday's work with the police force: the most remarkable achievement is finding a clean bed at Sparta.

There is no excuse for ignoring the mediaeval churches of Athens; the old town, perhaps already doomed by projected excavations, or the walls of Salonika. There is no justification for spelling Xenophon with a Z (quotation on p. 111) or writing Brasidas for Brasidas (p. 106).

The ancient history and archaeology depend on what hand-book the author relies on. He usually ignores the work of foreign scholars, e.g. Buschor's theories about the buildings on the Acropolis. His account of Mt. Athos is sound as long as he gets his information from Haselack. But, with regard to Mycenae, he depends on Schliemann, and therefore still believes that there was an Agora above the Grave Circle. When he says that there has been a good deal of controversy with regard to the Treasury of Atreus, we prick our ears; there has: but he goes on to say, 'The problem being whether it is a Treasury or a Tomb.'

The illustrations are pretty, but many are familiar to us from the expensive post-cards we have bought at Rames or received from friends: moreover they are not appropriately arranged.

It should have been easy to make the archaeology up to date and the information attractive. We cannot forgive the wasted opportunity.

Echi di Civiltà Preistoriche nei Poemi d'Omero. By L. A. STELLA. Pp. xxi + 307, 92 figs. Milan: Soc. Editrice Unifas, 1927. 60 Lire.

The object of this book is to collect in the *Homeric poems* 'the manifold echoes . . . of all that life, social, intellectual, artistic and ethical, which the prehistoric monuments of the Aegæan have revealed to us' (p. xv). The authoress does not believe that the individual monuments which inspired Homer are to be found in Late Mycenaean art: hence although in the chapter on armour she is obliged to go for parallels to the Warrior Vase and to the greaves of Enkomi, in the main she seeks her illustrations in the great days of LM I and II. She does not indicate the manner in which the echoes reached Homer. Commenting on the often-remarked parallels between the products of LM art and the similes of Homer, she expressly states (p. 230) that 'queste concordanze non implicano affatto derivazione e neppure rapporti indiretti tra il poeta ed i monumenti figurati': poems and monuments are the diverse forms in which the artistic power of one and the same civilisation is manifested (p. 230).

In the first two chapters, which deal with the Greek and Trojan catalogues, Miss Stella gives convenient résunés of the results of the most recent excavations, and in her bibliographical notes provides a valuable conspectus of recent literature on the subject. The remaining chapters, which deal with weapons and the art of war, women, palace, country life and sea-faring, are superficial and inadequate, as is inevitable when only comparisons with Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation are permitted.

Lippold is not quoted on the shield, nor Mercklin on the chariot nor Dr. Halfour on the

how, the account of which perpetuates the traditional impossibilities. In the chapter on women fancy has a free field. What evidence is there for the assertion that after 1400 the position of women on the mainland was adversely affected, or that the matrilineal system is something peculiarly Aegean, or that the pronouncement of Odysseus on marriage (7. 182 ff.) represents an 'essentially Minoan-Mycenaean conception of family life'? Women's dress in Homer is claimed as Minoan, on the ground that it is brightly coloured and that the stuffs are figured. There is no reference to Studniczka or Pinza and no analysis of the few Homeric passages that bear on the subject.

Inaccuracies are numerous. As examples, the death of the Lesser is attributed to the Greater Ajax (p. 22); the statements of Pick (*Personennamen*², p. 430) about the names Odysseus and Laertes are very different from those which Miss Stells (p. 46) attributes to him; the Trojans are stated to be called Teucri in the *Iliad* (p. 60); the number of interments in the Shaft-graves is 19, not 17, and the women among them number 9, not 8 (p. 156).

So one-sided an essay has little to offer the specialist and will mislead others. It is a pity that Miss Stells's industry and enthusiasm did not select a more restricted field for what appears to be her first book.

The Etruscans. By DAVID RANDALL-MACIVER. Pp. 152, Pl. 14 and map. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 6s.

Dr. Maciver has written what is avowedly a defence of Etruria against what he considers the aspersions of 'pro-Hellenic bias.' The book in consequence has both the merits and the faults of a propagandist work. Its merits are chiefly that he has emphasised the already accepted Asiatic origin of the Etruscans and illustrated it in a variety of ways, and in addition that he has given a really important conspectus of Etruscan culture. The faults are mainly those of an undue but refreshing enthusiasm.

We can accept the challenges that he throws down. 'Even our best art critics of to-day are strongly pro-Hellenic in their bias' (p. 103). 'These art critics derive their jaundiced views from the Greeks' who gave free rein to their malicious tongues and invented a series of calumnies on the moral character of a people who are shown by the evidence of their monuments to have been far superior to the Greeks in all essentials of a decent family life' (p. 35). 'Actually the Etruscans were a jovial, light-hearted folk. "If grim Charon was there with his mallet I find him no more unpleasant than Death or Father Time with his scythe" (p. 129). 'The Etruscans may not have possessed all the serenity of the Hellenic spirit, but there is no reason at all to think of them as living in a hag-ridden atmosphere like the witch-burners of Salem' (p. 129). 'Finally the Romans never spoke the truth of the Etruscans. The lost work of the Emperor Claudius' must have been little more than a farrago of the tales invented by jealous Greeks' (p. 6). 'The Tuscan artists of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance inherited their outlook and taste from a "long line of ancestors whose works are to be seen in such places as the Museo Archeologico (at Florence)" (p. 3). 'More than two thousand years of continuous development had gone to the making of Giotto and his school. They did not spring fully armed from the head of any Byzantine' (p. 3). 'The modern Tuscan is only an evolved Etruscan (p. 5). He has the same jovial outlook.

To all of which we can let the Etruscans themselves reply; we can even use Dr. Maciver's own words. 'I can hardly trust myself to describe it,' he says of the Apollo of Veii (p. 60). 'This is the most perfect incarnation of an entirely remorseless, inhuman god that can be imagined'; 'the remorseless, terrible deity is the very incarnation of what I should feel an Etruscan god to have been' (p. 116). Let us add what Dr. Maciver surprisingly omits—the so-called Tomb of the Volumni at Perugia. Here is an absorption in Death that is amazing in its concentration, the quintessence of a Death-ridden, if not hag-ridden outlook. Let us add to this the dead Adonis of the Gregorian Museum, the most perfect masterpiece of a specialist in death-bed scenes, and the innumerable frescoes which depict the slaughter of prisoners—as in the Tomb François at Vulci—which seem to have made a special appeal to Etruscan tastes. And there are a host of similar examples. In fact the Etruscans,

amongst their many fine qualities, had a profound predilection for things which the Greeks viewed with horror. To point this out is not to be convicted of 'pro-Hellenic bias.' Etruscans were in spirit more like the Maya and the Aztec than any European people, and perhaps we may be acquitted of using 'tainted Spanish sources' if we say of those people what we say of Etruscans. Certain peoples in the world's history endowed with fine artistic abilities find their inspiration in what are to other peoples terrifying and horrible. With the Maya and the Aztec their artistic tastes implied a pronounced cruelty of outlook. It is not unfair to argue likewise about the Etruscans, even if the logic is not flawless.

In detail Dr. Maciver has given us much controversial matter. The Certosa situla he pronounces definitely to be Etruscan (p. 20). But a type of helmet shown there which he describes as 'of a very peculiar form with protuberant knobs' is merely a Hallstatt type: there is one at Vienna. The situla seems to the reviewer, at any rate, to contain a very great deal that is non-Etruscan, both in style and subject.

With the Apollo of Veii most people would agree whole-heartedly with Dr. Maciver. But he gives us only tourist impressions of it. In fact, it is, as sculpture, bad work. The artist has never learnt anatomy and has no conception of the structure of the human body. He has not realised that the head and shoulders form one coherent whole which is fitted on to the torso in the living structure of the body. Consequently he has stuck the head and neck on a trunk which itself is made in one piece, and the legs are added separately. This is neither art nor sculpture, but it is the fault of nine out of ten Etruscan artists. But the result is all the more terrifying to look at just because it looks inhuman. No wonder Dr. Maciver shudders.

The Monteleone chariot bronzes he calls 'thoroughly Greek in their feeling' (p. 82). They are perhaps the most purely Etruscan bronzes we have. They have no Hellenic parallels for the larger scenes, and are Hellenic only because their artist had learnt from a Greek.

The Tomba dei Tori, so far from being 'quite perceptibly influenced by Ionic art' (p. 52), may be actual Greek work.

Fig. 1 on Plate 5 is described as having two cross-bars of finely granulated goldwork. The plate shows them to be plaited and not granulated work.

In regard to the city of Spina in the Po valley (p. 132) Dr. Maciver, without argument, assumes it to be Etruscan. But the unanimous opinion of antiquity was that it was Greek. It failed and was abandoned because of local and Etruscan rivalry. It proved, in fact, to Greeks the impossibility of attempting to colonise the Adriatic. Excavations confirm its Greek character, and the fact that the Spinatans built a Treasury at Delphi almost certainly precludes them from being Etruscans.

Finally, Dr. Maciver makes no mention of a great body of fine artistic work which is neither Etruscan nor Greek, but is contemporary with both, and may, for convenience, be called Latin. Its spirit is independent, its achievements in the fifth and fourth centuries are by no means inconsiderable. The Capitoline Wolf may well be one of its masterpieces, and not Etruscan. Roman art owes much to it. In any consideration of Etruscan art it must be taken into consideration, and not be denied or conveniently forgotten.

S. G.

Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East. By H. FRASEFORT. II. Asia, Europe and the Aegean, and their earliest interrelations. Royal Anthropological Institute, Occasional Papers 8. Pp. xi + 203, with 13 plates. London, 1927. 12s. 6d.

Adequately to review a book covering such a wide field would require a specialised knowledge of several areas, such as few archaeologists would claim. One must admire the author's courage in attempting to present a coherent picture of the complicated inter-relations of the different regions and the skill with which he collects the smallest scraps of evidence and pieces them together to form a consistent whole. The attempt was well worth making, and foreshadows how much the scientific handling of ceramic evidence will contribute to the writing of pre-history, given the necessary material, i.e. the published

results of scientific excavation, to work upon. At present it must be confessed that that material is extremely deficient, and the author has too often been obliged to guide himself by instinct and by controlled imagination rather than by established facts. For this reason, the book is rather premature. The publication of several excavated sites is imminent, and though the results will in some cases justify Mr. Frankfort's prescience, in others they will certainly cause him to modify, and even to change, his theories. That the author is inclined to treat his theories as if they were facts is perhaps the only criticism of a general character that can be brought against this brilliant book.

The consequences of writing with passionate conviction are that an author unconsciously minimises evidence which tells against the view he is advocating. This is particularly the case in Mr. Frankfort's handling of the material from Central Macedonia. In order to support the extremely attractive theory of a Danubian immigration into Central Greece, occurring at or about the same time as the immigration from the Black Earth region into East Thessaly, he over-emphasises the Danubian element in Macedonian pottery, and almost entirely disregards the far stronger Anatolian element. It is true that at the time the book was written the author was not in possession of the results from Vardaróftsa, and it is also true that the excavations at Gona and Sôdes are incompletely published. But the evidence from the latter sites, such as it is, shows unmistakably that in the earliest stages there the Anatolian element is the rule, the Danubian element the exception, and the excavation at Vardaróftsa bears this out. That Danubian sherds should be found in Macedonia and even Danubian settlements (as perhaps Várdino I) is what one would expect in view of the peripheral position of Macedonia, but there is at present no evidence that the earliest settlements were Danubian, and to claim all the black-polished carboniferous wares as Danubian is inconsistent with the evidence of shapes and decoration during the first Macedonian period.

A better case can be made for Danubian elements in the succeeding period (Mr. Frankfort's 'concluding movement of the great migration'), but here too it is easy to exaggerate. In fact, the trend of the archaeological evidence is to show that Central Macedonia was from the beginning a north-westward extension of the Anatolian province; and that, except for a brief interval during the second period when it was drawn into closer relations with the Danube, and another at the end of the Bronze Age when it was overrun by Danubian invaders, it remained Anatolian in character until historical times. Mr. Frankfort suggests (p. 173) that the pot-hook spiral was introduced into Anatolian ceramics about the middle of the second millennium, by immigrants from Macedonia. If this is so, these immigrants can only have been descendants of the original Anatolian settlers returning to their ancestral homeland (accompanied perhaps by Danubians who had long been domiciled in Macedonia). The further hypothesis that these immigrants were Phrygians would command acceptance more readily if the pot-hook spiral occurred on pottery found in Phrygia itself at the date in question. The solitary plastic example from Boz-eyuk is, of course, much earlier, but, taken in conjunction with the numerous plastic spiral or spiraliform designs from Troy II, suggests that perhaps the spiral is not as foreign to Anatolia as is generally supposed, and the Cappadocian pot-hook spirals may, after all, prove to be indigenous. In any case, the argument that the pot-hook spiral is always and everywhere due to the disintegration of a spiral system is one which will appeal only to certain minds.

The case for a Danubian immigration into Central Greece and the Cyclades has much to recommend it. Certain difficulties, however, suggest themselves. Of the proofs of the presence of Danubians, which (in addition to the plain black-polished carboniferous ware which is equally characteristic of Anatolia) are cited by the author, viz. the *spiral-belt*, *white-on-black painted*, *knobbed*, *burnish-decorated* and *ribbed*, only the two last seem to have been really common in the Danubian region. In the case of the *white-on-black* wares, which are found in the southern part of that region, and which, from the author's description (p. 29), seem most to resemble those of Central Greece, no references are given, and (unless Várdino is included) they were certainly rare. The *spiral-belt* is more common, but Butmir, where it is best represented, is placed by good authorities in Danubian II, and consequently later than the *storiti*, which the author assigns to the spiral-belt in Greece and the islands. The *knobbed* or *pelleted* ware is not really characteristic of the Danube, and seems more common in Greece, where its possible connection with the A 1

wares cannot lightly be set aside. So, too, the Danubian origin of the wish-bone handle rests on very insecure premises, especially since it has been found in a very early layer at Vasilaróttis in a purely Anatolian context, along with what appear to be its prototypes. Mr. Frankfort's comparison of the pierced lug from Macedonia (p. 51, n. 1) with the handle of a 'frying-pan' from Andros is unfortunate, as the lug in question is at Vasilaróttis invariably associated with bowls typical of the earliest Anatolian stratum. The 'suses à tesson' which he quotes in the same connection are, in Macedonia, confined to the Iron Age, and are consequently useless for his argument. To claim a Danubian origin for the high-handled cup (p. 132, n. 4) and for the tankard (p. 116) is unwarranted, since the examples quoted come either from Lengyel, which belongs to Danubian II, or from undated strata in Bosnia and Serbia.

That a relationship exists between Greece and the Danube in the second Thessalian period cannot be denied, but the nature of that relationship is uncertain; and, until more shapes are recovered in Greece and more excavation is done in Anatolia, it is impossible to decide whether the black carboniferous ware entered Greece from the North or from the East. It may ultimately prove that Anatolia is the common ancestor of this ware both in Greece and in Central Europe.

The theory that Middle Helladic *matt-materei* is a revival of the neolithic *Baarnstijl* is also attractive and may contain an element of truth. But even if the survival of neolithic elements is admitted, especially in the North, they are rare in South Greece and the islands, where the shapes and decoration are markedly Anatolian. Mr. Frankfort recognises the continuity of matt-painted ware with patterned *urfinis* ware in the Cyclades, and has some difficulty in finding an explanation for it which will fit into his scheme. Is it not a more natural explanation that *matt-materei* (which is more common in the South) was deliberately adopted on the islands, and, starting from them, reached the mainland in the wake of its predecessor, *urfinis*? In this connection the beaked jugs from Drakhami, which were formerly held to be Cretan, but which are in reality matt-painted, are very significant. The typical matt-painted bowl with pierced lug has been shown by the excavations at Vasilaróttis to be an Anatolian shape, and Forsdyke has noted its relationship to bowls from Yortan. The appearance of matt-painted pottery on the mainland would indicate that the Cycladic population still continued to settle there, and the picture that Mr. Frankfort has drawn of conditions during the Middle Helladic Age would require modification. In any case, he exaggerates the barrenness of the islands. The supposed depopulation in the Middle Helladic period may mean nothing more than that the same conditions prevailed as on the mainland, i.e. communities supporting themselves by agriculture, and, in the case of the islands, by fishing. It must always be remembered, too, that the islands have been very imperfectly explored.

Mr. Frankfort's explanation of the origin of Minyan ware is particularly convincing. It accounts for the indubitable Trojan connections, without the necessity of postulating an invasion, and at the same time provides a good reason why Minyan should have been manufactured in Boeotia. That there was no real break between the Early and Middle Helladic periods, but merely changed conditions, is a point of the greatest importance, and, if true, should dispose of a good many theories which have been built on the supposed interruption of the earlier culture.

The movement of Minyan was thus in the opposite direction to that of matt-painted ware. As to their mutual relations, the finds from Aphidna are especially illuminating. Here we find the large matt-painted bowl with pierced lugs, Anatolian by descent, associated with shapes that have a similar history, but are here reproduced in Minyan fabric. The curious triple jar has a split handle, a typical Anatolian feature, found both in the Cyclades, on the mainland and in Macedonia; its trefoil lip, a variety of the beaked spout, is found at Phylakopi. The lidded pyxis with its stamped circles has a Cycladic character, while the unusual incised motive, pendent hooks alternating with pendent triangles, is identical with that on a large matt-painted jar from Eutresis in the Tholos Museum. Aphidna lies on the border between the main matt-painted and Minyan areas. Is it fanciful to see in the mixed character of the pottery a reflection of the interaction of the two styles, which, moving in opposite directions, here met and crossed?

Mr. Frankfort's explanation of how examples of A and B wares (both kinds) found

their way to Apulia is courageous, and, once accepted, the case for Sicilian connections is considerably strengthened. But in order to adjust the theory to the ascertained stratigraphic facts so much ingenuity is required, that one feels it would have been better not to press the nature of the relationship. The intermediacy of the Corinthian traders can be established only when Early Helladic sherds are found in Italy and Sicily.

A profound and stimulating work, which places on a new basis, not only the archaeology of the Aegean and its related lands, but the science of pre-historic Archaeology as a whole.

The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Pp. xiii + 582, with 4 plates and 113 figures. Acta Reg. Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis IX. Lund: W. K. Gleerup. London: Humphrey Milford, 1927. £1 11s. 6d.

It has long been clear that archaeological exploration of the Aegean world in the Bronze Age must have considerable effects on our views of the history of Greek religion. Since the famous essay of Sir Arthur Evans on Tree and Pillar Cult many contributions have been made to this inquiry, but we have hitherto lacked a comprehensive treatment of the subject as a whole. Such a treatment Professor Nilsson has given us in a book which can hardly fail to take its rank among the classics of the history of religion. For Minoan-Mycenaean religion we have 'a picture book without the text.' A wide range of theorising is therefore possible, and while we must reject many interpretations which have been put forward, we must equally firmly reject the unscientific temptation to refuse to make any hypothesis at all. Nilsson has earlier, in *Die Anfänge der Götter Athens*, in his paper in the *Festschrift Wachernagel*, and in his *History of Greek Religion*, done much to establish a sound method of criticism. He insists again on the danger of an uncritical use of analogies. Contacts with Egypt and South-west Asia Minor, in the further study of which much future progress may well lie, receive full attention, but it is shown that even here the Minoans assimilated what they borrowed. It is not impossible that they had something to give: thus cultural influence from the Aegean makes its way to Central Europe and to South Russia. On the connections with Sardinia which have been supposed Nilsson says nothing, perhaps feeling that their application savours of *ignotum per ignotum*.

The book opens with a sketch of the historical facts conditioning the religious phenomena under consideration. From differences between mainland and Cretan culture Nilsson argues that the Mycenaean civilisation is that of an invading people who have assimilated the culture of the conquered. This contention will no doubt be disputed, but it is reinforced by valuable arguments (those from language are very well put) and parallels and seems reasonable. Chapters II to XI are devoted to an analysis of the archaeological evidence for Minoan-Mycenaean religion, nature sanctuaries, house sanctuaries, altars, other sacred furniture, sacred dress, horns of consecration, the double axe, pillars, columns, tree cult, idols, and representations of epiphanies in bird or human shape. These chapters are no mere catalogue of material; at every point they are suggestive. The discussion of the double axe, here regarded as owing its sanctity to its use as a cult implement, is particularly happy. Chapter XII is a much-needed protest against the tendency to suppose a sort of monotheism in prehistoric Crete.¹ Monotheism is a fine flower of religious thought, appearing indeed sporadically in early stages of development, but not widely dominant till a very advanced phase. The Minoan mother-goddess who combines all possible functions in sky and earth and under-world is probably an illusion; we must recognise rather a plurality of goddesses with fairly specialised functions.² Thus the goddess with a mirror, whom Nilsson finds enigmatical (p. 305; cf. p. 149), may well be a goddess of feminine beauty, the Mycenaean counterpart of Aphrodite (I do not wish to imply that Aphrodite has developed from her). Chapter XIII is devoted to an attractive explanation of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus as representing the cult of a dead man deified. This idea is not entirely new, but it is stated by Nilsson in the best form. The rest of the book is concerned

¹ So independently L. R. Farnell in *Kronos Essays*, p. 111.

² Here Farnell, p. 13, dissents.

with the survival of Minoan-Mycenaean elements in the religion of historical Greece, in particular with the survival of the *Kernos*, the continuity of cult-places, the survival of Athens, the survival and transformation of Artemis, the Minoan myth of the Divine Child, and hero-cult. The analysis of Dionysiac cult and of the Minoan heritage which helped to create Orphic mysticism is very interesting. It may be asked whether Nilsson's interpretation of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus as implying belief in the attainment of divinity after death does not supply us with the background of the Orphic *ὁρὰς ἑρμῆος ἐξ ἑρμείου*. It is clear that in the Orphic movement submerged beliefs and ideas came to life: it is not unlikely that economic distress stimulated man to shape the Orphic myth, which is in effect a prescientific hypothesis to account for the riddle of man's nature and destiny.

To pass to some details, mention might be made in p. 113 ff. of the fact that Grassmann has drawn attention to *kernos*-like objects found at Bésan (*Zeitschr. f. alttest. Wiss. N.F.* lii. 1925, p. 71 ff., *Mon. Bilder z. n. T.*,² p. 194, Abb. 657-6; his further conclusions are dubious). On p. 335 ff. Nilsson discusses the representation of sun, moon and stars on Mycenaean rings without mentioning the possibility to which I called attention in *Cl. Rev.*, 1925, 173 f., that they are no more than an artistic shorthand for the sky above, emphasising the fact that the goddesses are operating on earth. It still seems to me thinkable. I am glad to find the view accepted in *Cl. Rev.*, 1926, 185, as to the original meaning of *ἥρας* confirmed, p. 418. *ἥρας* *Διόνυσος*, if it is a sound reading in the Eleon hymn, means Lord Dionysus, and is parallel to Adon, *ἄναξ*, *θεοκτόνος*, and the later *κύριος*, *dominus*. A *propos* of the suggestion made p. 429 f., that the dependence of the city's safety on the preservation of the *palladium* is to be explained from the fact that the latter was the image worshipped in the king's private shrine, reference might be made to the mythical dependence of Megara on the hair of Nieme. *L'État, c'est moi* must have been applicable in a marked degree to the kings of the time. On p. 442 reference might be made to an apparent example of the Master of Animals on a Spartan Ivory (*B.S.A.* xiii. 1906-7, p. 81, fig. 156). On p. 463 a note might be added of G. F. Hill's argument for the Cretan connexions of Gama (*Sons of Palestine Cults*, p. 14 ff., off-printed from *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, V., 1912), and on p. 550 of Usener's contention (*Kleine Schriften*, lii. 449 ff.) that the lion has in the East a connexion with the under-world (further literature, Buckler-Calder-Cox, *J.R.S.* xiv. 31 f.).

In conclusion, it must be said that Professor Nilsson has given us *επίτομα Σαμωιεύς*; it is a source of pleasure and pride to an English reader that this epoch-making book has been published in his language.

A. D. N.

The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume I of Plates; prepared by C. T. SELTMAN. Pp. xiviii + 325. Cambridge University Press, 1927. 25s.

The only possible test for the value of a book of this composite and unusual type is to ask whether it really supplies a need and whether this need is adequately met. The answer to both these questions is certainly in the affirmative. Consequently all criticisms that are here made must be considered as being offered as guides for the advantage of subsequent similar volumes. To complain of this or that plate, or of this or that explanation of a plate, will not invalidate the very great value of the volume as a whole, which carries out the express purpose for which it was compiled, namely, to illustrate the chapters of the History.

The only general criticism which can be legitimately made is that the ink used for the blocks is a very unpleasant colour, a kind of pale indigo black, and the blocks are so printed that this pale ink prevents the full depth of the shadows and dark features from developing. I cannot see that any considerations of price should have necessitated the choice of this unpleasant ink.

The remaining criticisms concern partly the compiler but mainly the various authors who approved of the selection offered them.

Of the frontispiece, the Minoan goddess, all that can be said is that a work of art which lays claim to so great importance as this, but which lacks a pedigree, should under no circumstances have been selected for the frontispiece. It does not command universal respect among archaeologists, and until excavations have produced its like in stone sculpture some doubts must always remain as to its authenticity. That being so I am shocked to see

is described in the letterpress as 'found in Crete not far to the east of Candia.' This statement will be accepted by readers as a statement of fact, and until the circumstances of its discovery are revealed with full authentication such a statement should never have been made. Unless an archaeologist was present when the statuette was discovered, this statement is worthless as evidence—it is simply 'what the soldier said.' All the statements of all the peasants and dealers of Crete are worthless in comparison with one sound deduction from scientific excavation, and that we have not got for this statuette. No hint of its lack of pedigree is given in the volume.

Almost equally sinful is the Minoan lady on p. 117 (a), described as 'reconstructed.' She is reconstructed right enough, but only on paper and consequently has no more real existence than a Platonic idea. She figures here as if she were a real lady from Peisada: she is, in fact, a wraith.

On p. 181 the two vase fragments shown are reproductions from Schliemann's cuts. Seeing that adequate photographs of the 'warrior-vase' exist and that the other fragment is in Athens the choice of these illustrations is unforgivable.

The Berlin Kore on p. 208 is a welcome guest, but she too has no pedigree. Fortunately there is no doubt cast upon her genuineness and she is generally accepted, but we should have been told of her dubious past. The description attached to her is singularly infelicitous. No mention is made of her peculiar head-dress and the pattern that is on it, nor is her position in Attic sculpture dealt with.

On p. 241 the jovial Hittite relief of the warrior is reproduced from a photograph which would have disgraced the picture page of an evening paper; the same might be said of the Hittite father-god on p. 247.

The Cypselid gold bowl on p. 274 is admirably dealt with and admirably reproduced, and the writer of the letterpress, knowing that it, too, has no pedigree, not only warns us by saying that it 'is said to come from Olympia,' but gives us a wealth of evidence that succeeds in substantiating its genuineness. His account is a model one for the publication of an antiquity which may be suspect.

Similar caution is expressed in the account of a Spanish statue with which the Elche bust is compared (p. 294).

The Naxian Sphinx on p. 204 hardly gets its deserts. No mention is made of the inscription on its base nor of its stylistic affinities.

On p. 346 the lonely little geometric horse is not typical of its kind. It lacks a base and is shown as if it has only two legs.

These criticisms affect only a small fraction of the wealth which the book contains, and few of the faults referred to can be put down to the compiler, Mr. Selman. He seems to have carried out a very difficult and complicated task with ability and enthusiasm—but perhaps with too much of the latter.

S. G.

A Cretan Statuette in the Fitzwilliam Museum. A Study in Minoan Costume.

By A. J. R. Wace. Pp. 49; with a frontispiece and 13 plates. Cambridge University Press, 1927. 10s. 6d.

The lady who is the main subject of this luxurious monograph has been adulated in the University of Cambridge for nearly two years. She now courts public scrutiny in the frontispiece of two books issued by the University Press: this and the first volume of plates in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. On the present occasion the reviewer cannot politely look aside: he is invited to assist at an appreciation of the lady's clothes, but he must beg leave first to examine her credentials.

Doubts of the authenticity of the statuette are neither new nor unexpected. All novel works of art of unknown origin incur suspicion, and it is common knowledge that this piece was condemned on grounds of style and design by the first museum to which it was submitted in this country. It is manifestly futile to discuss the style, but it may be said that while some of those who are familiar with Aegean art find here 'self-evident qualities' of physical beauty and Minoan character, others not less numerous nor less expert held the opposite opinion.

Dr. Xanthoudides is mentioned in the preface, in the embarrassing company of the dealer who was chiefly interested in the disposal of the statuette, as having 'unselfishly helped.' It should be made clear that the Cretan Ephebe's help did not involve approval of the piece in question: on the contrary, he has gone so far as to name its author, a very experienced dealer and manipulator of Cretan antiquities, of whom they say in Candia that when told the prodigious price which the last purveyor received for his creation, he 'wept bitter tears.' But this is hearsay and perhaps invention, no more credible than the dealers' provenance family quoted here by Mr. Waue.

The 'superb poise and attitude' of the lady have the merit that they can be varied to some extent to suit the aesthetic ideas of the spectator, the joint at her waist being ineffective—a round peg, in fact, in a square hole. But no adjustment will supply the tenseness that is characteristic of Minoan figures, and the grace, devoutness and sympathy praised by Mr. Waue seem hardly to belong to prehistoric art.

Dr. Nilsson has recently remarked¹ that Minoan female idols do not hold their breasts. It is odd that the Cambridge lady does so, and still more odd that she does not do it properly. In the significant Asiatic gesture of this date the breast is clasped between the thumb and fingers. Mr. Waue would elude the difficulty by maintaining that his goddess is not holding her breasts: 'if the hands touch, this is due to lack of skill on the part of the worker.' If that be so, it is odd to write on the same page that the grace of the slender hand and fingers reveals the touch of a master. Odd too that the master, 'after long centuries of apprenticeship in the plastic arts,' should choose for his masterpiece a stone which Mr. Waue describes as an inferior quality of marble, and which someone has unkindly likened to corned beef. The Minoans used ivory and steatite for fine sculpture, but they had worked hard stones elaborately for a thousand years, and did not lack material, skill or knowledge.

While the freedom of the pose and gesture passes the bounds of probability, the costume is unduly limited in design. Nearly all the representations of Minoan women have different dresses. The exceptions are the three faience figures of the snake-goddess and her votaries from Knossos. They are an isolated group, and the fashion of their dress, particularly the apron, does not occur elsewhere, but each figure differs from the other two in some details. The Cambridge lady might be a fourth member of the group, so far as her costume goes, but she would not add anything to the wardrobe. She wears the hat of the snake-goddess, the skirt and apron-body of one votary, and the apron-border of the other. It is unlikely that a new and independent find would combine the distinctive features of a few of the best-known documents.

These are some of the considerations that cast suspicion upon the statuette at first sight. But since its enthronement in the Fitzwilliam Museum other ladies have appeared: poor relations indeed, but plainly exhibiting the family likeness. One belongs to Mr. Michael Ritsos of Salonika. It is apparently made of the same material (*marbre rouge clair*); the dress is identical, with a different hat; the hands touch the breasts, but the arms are entwined with snakes. Mr. Ritsos says that he bought this statuette in the summer of 1925, that is to say, before the Cambridge version came to England. It was, of course, found near Knossos. Another is in the hands of Mr. D. Simirotti of Paris. This has the same dress as the others, but with dots in the net of the apron; the forearms are outstretched and the hands clasped. It is made of steatite and is jointed at the waist. It is certain that these three statuettes are not all genuine. If any could claim precedence it would be the one that was in the hands of forgers soon enough and long enough to serve as model for the others.

E. J. F.

Lawyers and Litigants in Ancient Athens; The Genesis of the Legal Profession.
By ROBERT J. BONNER. Pp. xi + 276. The University of Chicago Press, 1927.

This very readable book does not profess to add any very striking contribution to the sum of our knowledge of the Athenian courts, but to explain, in simple terms, the nature of

¹ *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 253.

Athenian legal life. Professor Bonner looks at his subject from the point of view of a lawyer accustomed to Anglo-American procedure, but he is too well acquainted with his authorities to fall into the facile condemnations of the Athenian system to which most common lawyers would be tempted. Indeed he even says (p. 95) that criminals were brought to justice more surely in Athens than in America. We think that the avoidance of Greek technical terms has in some cases been carried a little too far. For one class of readers at any rate—boys in the upper classical forms at school and undergraduates—these technical terms would often be easier to understand than their necessarily inexact English equivalents. Many of us who learnt at school that *καταπατή* was the Greek for 'denounce' obtained but little light from that explanation. Even some lawyers in this country might be puzzled by such words as 'docket' for list of cases and 'continue' for adjourn, though the latter is a good old English use of the word. As the title shows, the author is in part concerned to show that there was something very like a legal profession at Athens, and quotes, for instance, the employment of Archidemos by Crito and others in support of his view. Of course there were people at Athens who knew more about the law than the bulk of their fellow-citizens, but they can really be better compared to those members of the House of Commons who are experts in Parliamentary procedure, than to a legal profession such as existed at Rome or exists among modern nations. The Athenian community was small enough for a considerable fraction of the citizen body to be concerned personally with the business of government (as, of course, Professor Bonner does not fail to point out), and law was simply part of that business with which some made themselves more familiar than others. Indeed the reasons why no true legal profession could develop are sufficiently clear from the book itself. But this criticism is perhaps a matter of words rather than facts, and we have to thank Professor Bonner for a valuable addition to the lighter literature of the classics.

H. F. J.

The Growth of Criminal Law in Ancient Greece. By GEORGE M. CALHOUN. Pp. x + 149. University of California Press, Berkeley, California; England: Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.

The most valuable feature of this book is that it provides a certain amount of further argument for the view that, in spite of a general background of legal ideas common to the whole of the Greek world, Athens was as pre-eminent in law as she was in other fields of intellectual activity, and that at the period of her greatness she had already reached a stage of development which was to come only much later, if at all, in other Greek communities. Mr. Calhoun's main thesis is, roughly, that before the legislation of Solon we find no 'true criminal law'; there is, of course, the law of tort, by which the injured individual can obtain redress from the wrongdoer, and there are mob-reactions against treason and other wrongs directly affecting the State; the public forms of action (*δικαγυδαί, μύνησις, κ.τ.λ.*) are all, or nearly all, pre-Solonian and 'have to do almost exclusively . . . with wrongs that affect the community as a whole or particularly atrocious violations of public peace and good order' (p. 43); Solon introduced criminal law proper when he adopted the principle that any person might initiate an action for a wrong done to another, but this principle was not expressed in any general enactment; it was contained in a prosecution clause added to each particular statute; Pisistratus developed criminal law for political purposes, the new form of action enabling him to prosecute his opponents in spite of the hostility of the Areopagus in the earlier years of his tyranny, and he, if not Solon himself, introduced the written notation of criminal actions from which the special sense of *γραφή* is derived; the greatest expansion of this part of the law, however, took place as a result of the reforms of Ephialtes.

Unfortunately a good deal of the evidence for this story is of the slightest, and the author sometimes seems to think he has proved a point when he has at most made a plausible conjecture. Thus, in speaking of the enslavement of citizens for debt, he says (p. 84), 'Solon, as we have seen, made it a statutory offence punishable by a criminal action,' and he continues to argue from this as from a fact. Really, however, the only proof

offered is that this would have been the most effective way of providing, as we know Solon did provide, that slavery for debt should be abolished, because, had the matter been left to 'the old law of tort,' the only person who could have raised any objection would have been the victim himself, and he would not normally be in a position to do so effectively. This is mere *a priori* reasoning, and anyhow it is difficult to see why the process of *ἐπιείκειν* εἰς Πισιστράτην, mentioned by the author himself, should not have sufficed once this particular form of slavery had been declared illegal. Any citizen could apparently act as *ἐπιείκεινος*; just as any citizen could be *adsutor libertatis* at Rome, and there is no logical necessity to suppose that there was a criminal action as well, any more than there was one at Rome before the passing of the *lex Fubia* (Mommson, *Strafrecht*, p. 781). There may have been one, but there is nothing except the admittedly very uncertain evidence for a γράφειν ἐνδίκην (n. p. 80) to show that it existed, and nothing at all to show that, if it existed, it was introduced by Solon. Lack of sufficient evidence, again, makes it impossible to accept the view of a development of the criminal action by Pisistratus. Beyond his own opinion as to what political expediency would have suggested, the only argument brought forward by the author is Aristotle's statement (*Ath. Pol.* 18. 5) that Pisistratus instituted circuit judges. Of course it is possible that he desired to free the hands of the thesmothetes for criminal jurisdiction, but there might be any number of other reasons, and even the not very plausible one given by Aristotle has more to be said for it than a pure conjecture. Similar objections apply to the theory that the reintroduction of the circuit courts in 453-2 was occasioned by a further expansion of the criminal law; it may be so, but the arguments brought forward are hardly good enough to justify the author's slighting reference to lawyers and historians who have failed to grasp the significance of this revival.

Altogether the book suffers from too much 'it must have been so,' and from a certain arrogance of style, but the comparison of Attic criminal law with that of other states is interesting, and we think Mr. Calhoun's arguments in favour of his view that Solon's famous principle was formulated in special prosecution clauses forming parts of each statute are well worthy of attention.

R. F. J.

The Documentary Sources of Greek History. By M. Cary. Pp. xi + 140. Oxford: Blackwell, 1927. 6s.

This book displays a very wide range of knowledge and is clearly written and well arranged. It would have been easier for the author to produce a bulky and imposing work, too expensive for students to buy, instead of this slender volume which achieves its purpose of stimulating interest in the daily increasing evidence for Greek History, and of giving the information needed for the satisfaction of the interest it arouses. The book especially deserves commendation because it directs the attention of the student to periods and regions whither the rules and conventions of examinations may not take him, and encourages him to read the sources themselves by referring to the most convenient and accessible collections. Besides inscriptions, documents cited in authors, and papyri, Dr. Cary includes in his survey coins and 'unwritten documents,' e.g. remains of fortifications, portraits and vases.

Apart from a few misprints which will not be a stumbling-block to any but pedants (e.g. Kühn, p. xi; Barthele, p. 13, n. 3; Diogenes Laertius, p. 69), the following slips or misprints might mislead students and should be corrected in a second edition. On p. 13, n. 7, for S.E.G. III. read S.E.G. II; p. 29, for 214 B.C. read 215 B.C.; p. 65, for *Anabasis Alexandrina* read *Collectanea Alex.*; p. 88, for Histaeus read Histiaeus; p. 108, n. 2, for Philaetarus read Philaetorus, and p. 131, read *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*. On p. 65 reference might be made to Ditt.² 693, and both Delphic hymns might be assigned to 128-7, not (with Reinach) to 138 B.C. and 128.

F. E. A.

Führer durch das Antiquarium (Staatl. Museen zu Berlin). I. Bronzen.
Pp. 106; 80 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1921. 1.25 m.

This nicely got-up and well-illustrated little guide to the Berlin bronzes is welcome. There has been no description of them published since Friederichs' *Kleinere Kunst und Industrie* was issued in 1871, and that did not include the statuettes. The chief attractions of the collection are the archaic figures such as the Apollo of Naxos, the warrior from Dodona, and the ball-player, the cheek-piece of a helmet with Odysseus, and of course the Praying Boy. It is a pity that no system of consecutive numbering except that of the Museum inventory seems to have been adopted; the guide, of course, follows the order of exhibition.

Stage Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans and their Influence. By JAMES TURNER ALLEN, Ph.D. Pp. 206; 24 plates. London, etc.: Harrap and Co., 1927.

This booklet deals with the Drama in Greece and at Rome both in general and with reference to its influence on the later stage. The subject is considered under the successive aspects of Dramatic Festivals, the arrangement of the Theatre, Properties and Scenery, Chorus, Actors and Costume. The concluding chapters discuss the influence of ancient theatre-construction on modern times, and the use made of Vitruvius' descriptions, especially by Inigo Jones; also the influence of the drama on literature, largely through Seneca, Plautus and Terence.

Études sur la Tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la Céramique.
By LOUIS SÉCHAN. Pp. 640. 161 cuts in text and 3 plates. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1926.

More than one attempt has already been made to trace out the connexion between the work of the Greek tragedians and representations on the later Greek vases, notably by Vogel (*Scenes Eurip. Tragedies*, 1888) and J. H. Huddleston (*Greek Tragedy in Light of Greek Vase-paintings*, 1898; apparently not known to M. Séchan). But this is the first time that the subject has received exhaustive treatment both from the literary and from the archaeological points of view. After some sixty pages of introduction dealing generally with the relation of poetry and the theatre to art in Greece, M. Séchan takes one by one all the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides which treat of subjects conjecturally or unquestionably represented in the art of the vase-painter. The result is a most valuable record for the purpose of the student, both of the drama and of vase-painting. The work is illustrated by 160 cuts in the text and nine beautifully-executed plates; we could have wished for more in both categories, having regard to the interest and artistic merit of many of the vases in question. The text is a model of French lucidity of treatment and accurate scholarship.

Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum, Wien. By F. ECHLER and E. KRAZ. Pp. 246; 84 plates and 83 cuts in text. Wien: A. Schroll and Co., 1927.

This magnificent volume reflects great credit on the compilers and on Dr. Banko, under whose auspices it was issued. The collection at Vienna, though weak in cameos of the classical period, at any rate can claim one of the finest antique examples in the *Gemma Augustea* (No. 7), which besides ranking as one of the largest in the world is also a fine example of Augustan art, though the authors decline to assent to the generally received view (upheld by Furtwängler) that it is the work of Dioskorides. Another fine example is the cameo of the Ptolemies (No. 3), which the authors prefer to identify with Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoë, rather than with Alexander and Olympias. The former explanation certainly seems preferable.

Out of the 726 examples described, only 122, or about one-sixth, can be assigned to the classical period, and none of these except the two already mentioned are of outstanding merit. The Renaissance and later cameos form an exceedingly fine series, probably unequalled by any other collection, and a remarkable feature of the majority of the cameos is the richness and beauty of their settings. The history of the collection, which goes back as far as 1246, when the *Gemma Augustea* is first mentioned, is also of much interest.

We note a curious error on the title-page and cover, and are at a loss to discover how '844 Abbildungen' are evolved from 84 plates and 83 cuts, especially as there are only 726 objects to be described. It is apparently not due to any fault of the authors that they are unacquainted with the British Museum Catalogue of gems issued in 1926.

H. B. W.

The Erechtheum, measured, drawn and restored by G. P. STEVENS; Text by L. D. CASKEY, H. N. FOWLER, J. M. PATON, G. P. STEVENS; edited by J. M. PATON. Pp. xxvi + 678; 236 illustrations. Published for the American School of Classical Studies in Athens by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1927.

The Erechtheum is perhaps the most difficult of Greek buildings to understand, and offers problems that have led to much controversy among architects and archaeologists. It has been partially published in numerous works, and has been the subject of reports by various committees, including that appointed by the Athenians in 409 B.C., and that of the Greek Archaeological Society in 1853. But a complete and detailed publication of the building, and a full discussion of all the problems involved, has long been among the chief desiderata in the archaeology of Athens; and this need the present volume is intended to meet.

The project of the work was initiated by Dr. Heermann as Director of the American School at Athens in 1903; after his death in 1905 there was much delay in its completion; in addition to those mentioned on the title-page, the help of Dr. Hill, the Director of the American School from 1906 until 1927, is acknowledged. The result is a careful and detailed record and description of the building, a technical account of its construction, a description of its sculpture, and a full text with translation and notes on the inscriptions. The history of the Erechtheum from its foundation and through all its vicissitudes as Greek temple, Christian church and Turkish house, and of the various attempts to restore it, is given fully by Dr. Paton.

The book throughout shows a cautious and impartial statement of evidence such as is most desirable in a publication of this sort. But for this very reason it is not easy reading: even the historical chapter, based on the technical evidence already given in detail, is obliged to leave many difficulties unsolved. For instance, the unsymmetrical position of the north and south doors in the western compartment has long been a puzzle, and has been thought to imply some change in the plan during building. But beyond the statement that such a change is probable there is no certain explanation. Dörpfeld's conjecture as to an original symmetrical plan is stated and discussed, and the difficulties in the way of it are stated; but with the reservation that 'a discussion of this theory is neither possible nor wholly fair, since its author has only published it in outline.' As to the existence of a cross wall from east to west in the western compartment of the temple, the American architects consider that the technical evidence suffices, although no trace of it remains. They do not think there is any evidence for the existence of a stair from the eastern to the western part of the building; and therefore the famous dog mentioned by Philochorus must have entered the temple by the north door; this implies that the whole building was referred to as the temple of Athena Polias. The whole question of the existence of one or more early temples of Athena, of the Hecatompedon, and of the Opeitholomus is carefully discussed, though there is really little to add to Frazer's admirable summary in his *Pausanias*.

The plates and illustrations are numerous and well chosen. In addition to the usual plans, sections, elevations and drawings of architectural detail, there are detailed records of almost every stone that supplies evidence on construction or modification of plan. An

interesting feature is the series of views of the Erechthseum, showing its state and vicissitudes from Turkish to modern times.

The whole publication is a most careful and conscientious piece of work. It is the fault of the subject and the data, not of the architect and archaeologists, that so many difficult problems have to be impartially stated rather than finally solved. The book will be indispensable to all future students of Athenian buildings.

E. A. G.

Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasius von Kaisarsia, die Vorlage für die beiden letzten Bücher der Kirchengeschichte Rufins (= Byzantinisches Archiv, Heft 6). By ANTON GLAS. Pp. vi + 90. Teubner: Leipzig, 1914.

The problems connected with the authorship of the lost Church History of Gelasius, Bishop of the Palestinian Caesarea, have long been familiar to students. Photius stated that it was on the advice of his uncle Cyril of Jerusalem that Gelasius wrote the book, but adds that others asserted that Cyril and Gelasius had simply translated into Greek the work of Rufinus. The history of Rufinus was written at a time when Alaric had invaded Italy: this is customarily understood to refer to Alaric's first invasion in A.D. 402; Cyril of Jerusalem died in 386, Gelasius in 395: thus neither could have translated the work of Rufinus. Various explanations of the difficulty have been proposed: Vallardi conjectured that Cyril of Alexandria was the translator—Photius had confused the two bishops; Loeschke suggested that Gelasius did not die in 395, in that year he may merely have been driven from his bishopric and thereafter have lived 'als Privatmann'; Bardenheuer found the solution in denying the relationship of Gelasius to Cyril of Jerusalem, he would place Gelasius in the fifth century. Dr. Glas refutes these suggestions seriatim and contends that Gelasius was indeed the author of the Greek original of the Church History of which Rufinus later made a Latin translation while studiously concealing the fact that these two books in which the Church History of Eusebius was continued were not his own composition. Dr. Glas supports this view by reference to Dom Butler's argument for a Greek original of the *Historia Monachorum*: it would be but another case of the well-known dependence of Rufinus upon Greek works. The latter part of the paper includes a comparison of the text of Rufinus with the *Syntagma* of Gelasius of Cyzicus and the *Chronicon* of Georgios Monachos: from this comparison Dr. Glas concludes that both these Greek writers used a common Greek original and not the Latin translation of Rufinus; that original was the Church History of Gelasius of Caesarea. For students working on the *Syntagma* of Gelasius of Cyzicus this comparative study will prove useful as a supplement to Loeschke's well-known monograph. We still need a careful historical and textual study of the documents inserted in the *Syntagma*; for a consideration of one of these documents cf. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xi. (1925), p. 63.

N. H. B.

Histoire du Parfait Grec. By P. CHANTRAINE. Pp. x + 268. Paris: Champion, 1927. 50 fr.

If anyone is deterred by the title of this book and thinks it must be a dull philological treatise, let him at once dispel his fears by reading it. It is not written only for the professed philologist, though none but a philologist could have written it; it may serve as a proof, if proof be needed, that the science of language, so much despised or feared, has much to offer the Hellenist. The author's purpose is not primarily morphological—such questions as the origin of the perfect in -ειν are not even discussed. The history of the meaning and use of the perfect tense in Greek is his theme.

The book contains much that will be familiar to most serious students of Greek, but its value as a survey is rather enhanced than lessened thereby. About the original form and meaning of the perfect we may say: (1) that it was an *aspect* rather than a *tense*; (2) that it was intransitive in meaning; (3) that its endings were active not middle in

form with a special series α , $\theta\alpha$ ($\alpha\epsilon$), ω in the singular. In its earliest forms, moreover, its connexion (through vowel-gradation, etc.) with the present or other stems was precarious—often scarcely noticeable to the speaker. Hence both in form and meaning it was slow to adapt itself to the 'regular' system of conjugation which Greek made for itself. Sometimes indeed the adaptation never took place, so strong was the independence of the perfect; $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ is only one, if the most familiar, example.

Just as the present had its imperfect, so the perfect had its pluperfect, whose endings were middle in form, corresponding to the type $\phi\epsilon\sigma\alpha$, $\phi\alpha\tau\alpha$ (Maillet in *Bull. Soc. Ling.* xiii. 64). As the middle endings became more and more associated with the intransitive aorist, they were often added to the perfect stem, and in intransitive senses the perfect middle tended to supersede the perfect proper. But the process was far from complete; witness $\beta\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$, $\epsilon\phi\theta\alpha\sigma\alpha$ and others. Except in Thucydides and Ionic inscriptions (see Chap. VIII) $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ survived alongside $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\mu\epsilon\iota$. The newly-formed Greek system of conjugation, where every form could be deduced from a given present, had its perfect active, as we may now call it, in $\sigma\epsilon\alpha$, but it now falls into the same relationship to the middle forms as did the present and aorist to their middle forms. As $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$ stood to $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\mu\epsilon\iota$, $\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\mu\epsilon\iota$, so presumably did $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha$ to $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon\iota$, and the 'resultative' use of the perfect expressing the result of an action on an object grew up. Most of the apparent examples of this use in Homer Chantreine considers to be reduplicated aorists or otherwise explains away. This resultative use of the perfect, sometimes also acquired by the old α perfects, is common in Xenophon and the orators, less common in N.T., and $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\alpha$ alone, he says, survives in Modern Greek.

These remarks are not to be taken as a summary, but only a sample of the many points discussed, sometimes convincingly but always lucidly and with a mass of valuable examples. The scope is wide, including both dialectal inscriptions and Hellenistic Greek.

T. A. S.

The Week: an Essay on the Origin and Development of the Seven-day Cycle. By F. H. COLSON. Pp. viii + 126. Cambridge University Press, 1926.

A very interesting work on a subject which is full of more difficulties than appear on the surface. Apart from the lunar week—a division of the month into four parts of seven or eight days—and such institutions as the Roman *mundinae*, there were two seven-day weeks, the Jewish and the planetary. The author's main purpose is 'to show how the double conception involved in the Jewish and the planetary week took root in the Roman Empire and produced the institution under which we live.' The Jewish week can, of course, be traced back to Moses and the Decalogue, and the author traces the planetary week back as far as Tibullius. It presents some difficult problems, e.g. the order of the days is not the same as the order of the planets, a problem which the author solves with the aid of Dio Cassius and arithmetic. The two seven-day cycles are distinct in origin, but in the time of the Empire each reacted on the other, and both Christianity and Mithraism as well as other factors facilitated the spread. The mixture of Jewish Sabbath and the Christian week on the one hand and the planetary week on the other is well exemplified in the names of the days in various modern languages. A table of these is given in the appendix and a discussion of them. Altogether an excellent little book which the author hopes will stimulate others to more detailed study.

T. A. S.

Sixth- and Fifth-Century Pottery from excavations made at Rhitona by R. M. Burrows in 1909 and by P. N. Ure and A. D. Ure in 1921 and 1922. Edited by P. N. URE. Oxford University Press, 1927. 21s. net.

The excavation of the necropolis at Rhitona is now approaching its twenty-first anniversary, and the volume before us, containing another large slice of the discoveries, is a fitting celebration of the event. It is only a slice, for, as the authors inform us, 'there is no evidence that the work is even half-way through.' But it is quite enough to go on with.

Rhissona, like rhetsina, is a somewhat specialised taste. One doubts if it can be acquired. But there is no doubt that the authors, like their late collaborator Professor Burrows, took with them to their task a natural enthusiasm for the treasures of Boeotian soil. This is a fortunate circumstance, for from the mass of pottery, most of it third-rate, which has been brought to light, important conclusions, which could only have been drawn by means of most patient and conscientious study, have been reached—conclusions which have thrown much-needed light on the chronology of Boeotian, Corinthian, Attic and other vase fabrics. Moreover, by a careful system of comparisons of the contents of the various graves the excavators have worked out their chronology with a far higher degree of exactitude in detail than has hitherto been achieved. This is a real contribution to knowledge, for which anyone interested in the history of early vase-painting must be grateful. One wishes that many excavations on other more important sites had been studied to the same good purpose.

It is, however, a pity that the authors do not make any distinction between the material which is intrinsically valuable and that which is merely evidence for chronological conclusions; and that the presentation of the whole is complicated by the establishment of innumerable minor categories and subdivisions, many of which are not of the smallest interest or importance, and merely serve to confuse the picture. The authors find their way skilfully enough through this labyrinth of their creation, but it can safely be said that not one reader in a hundred will attempt to follow them for long. Their method is seen to advantage in the 'chronological tables'—a mass of figures, letters, brackets and technicalities entirely without adequate explanation. One begins to wonder after a struggle with this kind of thing whether it is all worth while.

Moreover, questions which are of some interest are often ignored. The origins of the different fabrics discovered at Rhissona—even elementary questions such as whether a vase is Attic, Boeotian or Corinthian—are not investigated as closely as might be. Also one wonders why, when a good vase turns up, it is not treated with a little consideration. A vase on Pl. 22 (5. 18) is described as 'a beautiful cup'; this vase was also illustrated in the *Epheueris* some years ago (1912, p. 113, Fig. 10), but even after two attempts at publication its special charm remains a secret. In like manner we are given a second chance with the hilarious skyphos of Pl. 9 (No. 31. 187), the reverse of which was also published previously. But the photograph of the obverse which we are now given is wholly inadequate—perhaps designedly, for the description is confined to the following words: 'A unique vase.' It is placed in Group IIIa of the non-black-figured skyphoi, though if it is not black-figured I do not know what a black-figured vase is. And there are other instances of the same neglect (e.g. Pl. 13, Nos. 116, 109 and Pl. 21, No. 26. 91). Impartiality is well enough, but it can be pushed too far.

These criticisms are offered in the hope that the authors will attempt in further publications to make their finds more easily intelligible to the many people who are interested in their subject. The simple devices of distinguishing discussion from description by means of large and small type and of separating sections by adequate headlines would do much towards this end. But equally necessary is the suppression of irrelevant matter and the realisation that there is a limit to the strain which every subject will stand. Care killed the cat.

H. G. G. F.

Arrien: L'Inde. Texte établi et traduit par PIERRE CHANTRAINE. Pp. 83, with one map.

Bucoliques Grecs II.: Pseudo-Théocrite, Moschos, Bion, Divers. Texte établi et traduit par E. LÉONARD. Pp. xi + 235 leaves + 40.

Éschine: Contre Timarque sur l'Ambassade infidèle. Texte établi et traduit par V. MARTIN et GUY DE BÉNE. Pp. xxix + 176 leaves.

Ésope: Fables. Texte établi et traduit par ÉMILE CHAMBERY. Pp. liv + 155.

Nicéphore Grégoras: Correspondence. Texte établi et traduit par R. GUILLAND. Pp. xlii + 389.

Platon: œuvres complètes: xlii, 1, Lettres. Texte établi et traduit par J. SOURDIS. Pp. cli + 179.

Xénophon d'Éphèse: Les Éphésiaques. Texte établi et traduit par G. DALMÉDIA. Pp. xxxix + 77 leaves.

Paris: Association Guillaume Budé, 1927.

The above are the most recent additions to the rapidly growing series of Budé texts, which must by this time be as familiar in this country as across the Channel. The clear typography and convenient arrangement, and the competent scholarship evident alike in text and translation, make them no less pleasant than serviceable in use; and a special word of praise is due to the introductions, historical and critical, which are models of clarity and conciseness.

Corpus Medicorum Graecorum: iv, Sorani Gynaeciorum libri iv, de signis fracturarum, de fasciis, vita Hippocratis. Edidit IOANNES ILBERG. Pp. 21 + 282, 24 m. vi, 3, Oribasii synopsis ad Eustathium, libri ad Eusebium. Edidit IOANNES RAEDER. Pp. 3 + 498. 30 m.

Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1926 and 1927.

Texts with critical introductions; the first adds full indexes and eighteen plates, reproducing for the first time the diagrams from the *Codez Laurentianus* of the treatise on bandaging.

Aphthonius: Progymnasmata. Edidit H. HARE. Pp. 79. 3-60 m.

Hellenica Oxyrhynchia. Edidit ERNESTUS KALISKA. Pp. xiv + 62. 3-60 m.

Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1927.

The first of these Teubner texts contains critical introduction, bibliography and comparative extracts from other writers. The second adds a life of the author and a discussion of the literary sources of his work, with indexes.

Aristophanes Lysistrata. Edited by U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLERSTORF. Pp. 321.

Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1927. 9 m.

Aristophanes; Die Vogel. Edited by THEODORE KOCK; fourth edition by OTTO SCHNEIDER. Pp. v + 207. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1927.

Scholia in Aristophanis Plutum et Nubes. Edidit W. I. W. KOSTER. Pp. viii + 66. Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1927.

Études sur la langue des Évangiles. By H. PERNOT. Pp. ix + 226. Paris: Association Guillaume Budé, 1927.

Grammaire du grec biblique. By LE PÈRE F. M. ABEL. Pp. xv + 415. Paris: Librairie Lécoffre, J. Gabalda et fils, 1927.

Juden und Griechen im Römischen Alexandria. By H. I. BELL. Pp. 52. with 2 plates. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926.

A review of the English original appeared in Vol. XLIV. p. 311.

The Religion of Ancient Greece. By T. ZIEGLER. Pp. x + 235. London: Humphrey Milford, 1926. 7s. 6d.

An English version of the work which was noticed on its first appearance in French in Vol. XLVI. p. 264 of this *Journal*.

The Classics. By LORD HEWART OF BURY. Pp. 33. Manchester: University Press; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926. 1s. 6d.

The presidential address delivered to the Classical Association at Manchester in October 1926.

Primum Graius Homo : an anthology of Latin translations from the Greek. By B. FARRINGTON. Pp. 64. Cambridge University Press, 1927. 8s. 6d.

Notes on St. John and the Apocalypse. By ALEX. PATELIS. Pp. 56. Humphrey Milford, 1926. 3s.

The Language and Style of the Letters of St. Basil. By A. C. WAY. Pp. xv + 229. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1927.

INTERNATIONAL ETRUSCAN CONGRESS

The First International Etruscan Congress will take place at Florence, April 27-May 3, 1928, and will conclude with visits to Marsilotto and Bologna.

Applications for membership should be addressed to the General Secretary before March 31, and should be accompanied by a subscription of 36 Italian lire. Reduced fares on the Italian railways can be obtained by special application to the General Secretary. Assistance in the arrangement of board and lodging is given by the *Commissione Alloggi* of the General Secretariat.

Notice of proposed communications (in Italian, French, English or German) should be given to the General Secretary before Feb. 28, 1928.

Address: Via Ginori 13, Florence.

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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME XLVII. (1927)

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

BY

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED, ST. MARTIN'S STREET
LONDON, W.C. 2

MDCCCXXVII

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BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its members : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty,

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council, in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates:—

- (a) Undergraduates.
- (b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.
- (c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the expiration of one year from the date at which the Student takes his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by his tutor or teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs, and must undertake responsibility for his Candidate, in respect of Books or Slides borrowed from the Library.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6d. payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to receive all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, at or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

39. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1926-1927

THE following meetings were held during the past session —

- (1) November 9th, 1926. Sir Arthur Evans: *The Relation of the Shaft Graves to the Beehive Tombs at Mycenae*. See below, p. xi.
- (2) February 8th, 1927. Mr. H. B. Walters: *A Marble Head recently found at Gerasa (Jerash)*. Sir Charles Walston: (i) *A Greek Marble Statue of a Female Figure at Burlington House*; (ii) *A Relief of a Victor in the Pentathlon at Constantinople*; (iii) *Modern Forgeries of Ancient Works of Art*. See below, p. xii.
- (3) May 10th, 1927. Dr. J. K. Fotheringham: *The Eclipses of Antiquity*. See below, p. xiii.
- (4) THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Wednesday, June 22nd, 1927, Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, President of the Society, occupying the chair.

It was first announced that no nominations alternative to those circulated had been received. The names on the printed paper were therefore submitted to the Meeting with the result that all were unanimously elected or re-elected.

A vote of thanks to the auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. F. Macmillan, was proposed by Dr. J. A. Nairn, seconded by Mr. Penoyre and carried unanimously. The Hon. Secretary, Miss C. A. Hutton, then presented the following:—

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1926-27

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded:—

The Main Situation.

The cost of the new Library itself has been defrayed by generous contributions from the Members, and the financial outlook has been sensibly improved by the settlement, in the Society's favour, of a vexed question of liability for rates for its own rooms. Further, the annual increase of expenditure, due to the upkeep of larger premises, is in a fair way of being met by a gratifying increase in the membership, and the Roman Society has recently made generous addition to its share in joint expenses.

This is all to the good, but the debt of something over £3,000 for the purchase of the lease, and other expenses connected with the change of quarters, has still to be faced. The method proposed for meeting this charge will be found in the financial paragraph at the close of this report.

Obituary.

A number of honoured names have passed from the Society's Roll during the past Session, including those of four Vice-Presidents:—Sir William Ridgeway, Dr. Walter Leaf, Sir Charles Walston and Sir Sidney Colvin. The loss to science and the debt which the Society owes them will be commemorated elsewhere. The Council regret further to record the death of the following:—

Mr. S. H. Barnsley, Mr. Edward Bell, Miss Gertrude Bell, Mrs. Burton Brown, Prof. J. B. Bury, Mr. Somers Clarke, Prof. A. H. Crickshank, Miss I. Farquhar, the

Rev. H. Fleming, Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve, Mr. Ambrose Petrocchino, Prof. J. P. Postgate, Mr. H. Wagner, Mr. A. B. Walkley, and Prof. W. C. F. Walters.

Changes on the Council.

The Council desire to nominate as Vice-Presidents three members of their body, Prof. F. E. Adcock, Prof. J. D. Beazley, and Mr. J. T. Sheppard, in recognition of their distinguished services to history, archaeology and literature respectively.

They have pleasure in nominating to the three vacancies thus created Prof. W. R. Halliday, Mr. B. L. Hallward, and Mr. A. D. Nock.

They wish to re-nominate for election the following Members retiring under Rule 18:—Dr. M. Cary, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Dr. E. N. Gardiner, Dr. H. R. Hall, Mr. H. M. Last, Mr. F. H. Marshall, and Dr. J. A. Nairn.

They are glad to report that Mr. Maurice Thompson has consented to act as one of the Society's three Trustees, in succession to the late Dr. Walter Leaf.

General Meetings.

On Tuesday, November 9th, 1926, at the first General Meeting, the President showed an illustration of the gold Minoan cup, the so-called King's Cup, discovered by the Swedish excavators on the site of Dendra.

Sir Charles Walston and Sir Arthur Evans having offered observations on the cup, Sir Arthur then read a paper illustrated by lantern slides on the relation of the Shaft graves to the Beehive tombs of Mycenae.

Recent discoveries at Knossos threw a new light on the dating both of the most monumental of the beehive tombs at Mycenae (the 'Treasury of Atreus' and the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' with their sculptured façades) and also of certain remains of Minoan stone vessels found within them.

Preconceptions of a quasi-historic kind had long stood in the way of a simple explanation of the relation of the two classes of tomb at Mycenae. It was recognised from the first that the earliest elements in the shaft graves went back to a very remote age. They were therefore assigned to an early dynasty generally described as 'Danaan.' That two royal houses could have lived side by side disposing of their dead in totally different fashion was seen to be impossible. The beehive tombs, therefore, in default of the knowledge supplied by the excavations in Crete, being archaeologically 'to let,' promising tenants were found for them in the shape of Achaean princes ruling at Mycenae at a later date. Sir Arthur himself had long since expressed the opinion (published independently by Professor Percy Gardner as early as 1877) that the tholoi and the shaft graves were the work of one and the same dynasty, the contents of the great Mausolea outside the walls having been transferred to a site that could be included within them.

But the separate dating and the two successive dynasties had suited current preconceptions too well and still found general acceptance. The late Director of the British School at Athens, indeed, who had done such excellent work on his supplementary excavations at Mycenae, was led by the full evolution of the relieving triangle or tympanum above the entrances to the Treasury of Atreus and the tomb of Clytemnestra to assign them to the latest type of these monuments. From a painted sherd, moreover, in the 'panel' style, found in a chink below the level of the repaired threshold of the Atreus tomb, and belonging to the latest 'Mycenaean' phase, he had endeavoured to bring down its construction to the same date, not earlier certainly than the thirteenth century B.C., over three centuries later than the earliest elements in the shaft graves. The greatest architectural masterpiece of Mycenae, and of Minoan art in its broadest sense, was thus brought down to an age of decadence when the Palace of Knossos was already in ruins.

But very precise evidence, added to during the present season, had now come to light as to the date of a series of architectural sculptures parallel both in style and in minute details with those of the Atreus façade, from the site of an original

S.W. Porch of the Palace at Knossos which went entirely out of use as the result of a great earthquake towards the close of the Third Middle Minoan period. Some admirable sculptures of spirals and rosettes, moreover, found at an earlier stage of the excavations by the S. Propylaeum, can now, in the light of recent researches, be shown to go back to it in its earlier form, as built at the very beginning of the M.M. III. period. Part of a sculptured frieze, on the other hand, apparently belonging to the Palace as rebuilt after the earthquake above referred to, would still come within the limits of M.M. III. as ceramically defined. The result of all this, therefore, is to show that the Atrous and Clytemnestra façades reflect Middle Minoan architectural fashions of the latter half of the seventeenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C.

Of great importance, moreover, as corroborating this view, is the discovery in the dromos of the Clytemnestra tomb of remains of large 'medallion-decked' store jars of stone, like the clay examples found in the Royal Magazines at Knossos, which are of characteristic M.M. III. date. Are we really to suppose that these were copies executed at Mycenae three centuries afterwards when the Palace of Knossos itself lay in ruins? This evidence, however, does not stand alone. There were found in the same tomb several fragments of smaller stone vessels, some of them bored for inlays and reproducing even in small details the characteristic stoneware of the earlier phase M.M. III. as found, for instance, in the N.W. lustral basin of Knossos. One fragment indeed with plait-work relief is of the same mottled white and black ware as a Knossian specimen. The occurrence of this Minoan stoneware of everyday use is a very different thing from the finding of an Egyptian vase of exotic material, such as were often, no doubt, heirlooms.

One little link was also pointed out between the beehive tombs and the actual contents of the shaft graves, which seen originally in many cases to have contained wooden coffins to which embossed plates were attached. This was a small gold round object found in the Treasury of Atrous, showing an embossed pattern of Early Minoan derivation identical with specimens found in the shaft graves.

Prof. Sayce, Prof. Percy Gardner, Mr. Gordon Childe and the President took part in the subsequent discussion.

On February 8th, 1927, at the second General Meeting, Mr. H. B. Walters discussed the marble head recently found at Gerasa (Jerash) and now on loan in the British Museum.

The head had excited perhaps more attention than it deserved from an alleged resemblance to the traditional type of Christ. But the antecedent improbability of a portrait head of Christ having been executed at the period to which the marble must be assigned, amounted, in fact, to impossibility. Further, there were several parallels both to the conception and the execution in classical art.

Mr. Walters cited, among others, the head of Asklepios in the British Museum, the head (probably of a Triton) in the National Museum at Athens from Epidaurous, and the small head of Asklepios found at El Djem (figured in Reinach's *Revue des études antiques*, Pl. 196). The view had been put forward that the head, originally an Asklepios, had been altered in post-classical times to give it closer resemblance to the type of Christ. Mr. Walters pointed out that the head bore no resemblance to the earliest representations of Christ that had survived, from some centuries later. He thought the hair on the forehead of the Gerasa head had in effect been retouched, but was not convinced that the eyes and mouth had sustained alteration. The President, Sir Martin Conway, and Mr. C. J. Tait offered observations on the subject.

Sir Charles Walston then offered three Notes on Greek Sculpture, illustrated by lantern slides.

A Greek marble statue of a female figure in the Saloon of Burlington House had been in the possession of the Royal Academicians for many years, but no

record could be traced in the archives of that Society as to who presented it, when it was given and where in classic lands it was found before it was deposited in London. He considered that it was a beautiful specimen of ancient Greek sculpture of the best period and assigned it to the period between 430 and 360 B.C. The first analogy in style and technique was to be found in the well-known marble relief of the sandal-binding Victory from the balustrade of the Temple of Wingless Victory on the Acropolis of Athens, to which it also corresponds in dimensions. But the Burlington House marble could not have formed part of such a relief, as it is completely under-cut, though the back is kept flat and not meant to be seen. It was part of a shallow pediment or some architectural decoration of a larger monument. The nearest analogy was to be found among the Nereids of the Nereid Tomb from Xanthos in the British Museum. Several of these figures showed the same style, but, being placed between the columns, were also seen from the back. One of these, however, of the same dimensions as the Burlington House marble, was similarly treated as regards the back. It was possible that two such figures were placed inside the colonnade on either side of the door leading into the chamber. In any case it was a remarkable specimen of Greek sculpture of the best period, and the Royal Academy was to be congratulated on possessing such a treasure.

Sir Charles also showed a relief in the Museum of Constantinople catalogued as a 'Sepulchral Slab of a Discobolus.' He argued that this was certainly a monument to a Victor in the Pentathlon, an event which was meant to encourage the all-round athlete. The figure on the slab has a discus at his feet, while his upraised left hand holds a spear upon which he is resting. He was thus victorious in the two field games, and probably also in the wrestling match which ultimately decided the victory. Sir Charles showed how difficult it was for the sculptor to represent a victor in the Pentathlon in more than one of these games, though on vases five games are frequently represented. This slab is the only instance in which two games are presented. As to the date of this interesting relief, Doctor Mendel of Constantinople assigned it to *circa* 470 B.C. Sir Charles was more inclined to place it between 460 and 450 B.C., for reasons of style and technique, and especially because of the treatment of the hair, for it was not until the close of this period that the fashion of short hair prevailed for athletes. He showed numerous illustrations to prove that the Greeks, before this period of transition, kept their long hair, of which they were proud. In archaic representations of athletes the hair was either long or rolled up at the back, the braid being tied in front. He then returned to his early paper in the *Hellenic Journal* on *Pythagoras of Rhegium and Early Athlete Statues*, in which he had maintained forty-four years ago that the so-called Apollo Choiseul-Gouffier was really a pugilist, perhaps a reproduction of the famous pugilist Euthymos by Pythagoras. He contested the hypothesis that it represented an Apollo by Kalamis, holding that when Apollo in that period was represented as nude, he always had long curls or some ornamental head-dress.

Sir Charles next showed slides to support his belief that a small bust, formerly in the Souzée Collection, published by the late Prof. Furtwängler as antique, was simply one of a series of modern reductions ordered some years ago by the late Lord Ronald Gower. He also contested the genuine antiquity of a terra-cotta bust of Zeus exhibited by the Burlington Fine-Art Club in 1903, which Dr. Furtwängler considered to be a genuine antique of the fifth century B.C., probably from the school of Phidias, if not by that great artist himself.

The third General Meeting was held on May 10th, when Dr. J. K. Fotheringham read a paper on the Eclipses of Antiquity.

Beginning with the Eclipse of Odysseus, Dr. Fotheringham reminded the audience that in *Odyssey* xiv. 161, 162, Odysseus four days before the slaughter of the suitors predicted: 'In this same year Odysseus shall come hither, as the

old moon wanes and the new is born,' i.e. on the day of the new moon, on which alone a solar eclipse is possible. In xiv. 457 we learned that this night was 'foul, with a blind moon.' In xix. 306, 307, on the eve of the slaughter, Odysseus repeated to Penelope the prediction in xiv. 161, 162. The fatal day was described as a feast day. At the feast Theoclymenus mentioned portents, some visible to all, some to a seer only. Among others (xx. 356-7), 'The sun has perished out of heaven, and an evil mist has overspread the world.' Plutarch and Eustathius took this to mean an eclipse of the sun, but modern commentators generally took a different view. Herr Schoch had recently identified this eclipse as that of 1178 B.C., April 16th, and had brought the detailed narrative in the *Odyssey* into connection with it.

As regards the Eclipse of Archilochus, in 648 B.C., there was doubt whether the eclipse was observed at Thasos or at Paros. There could be no doubt of the identity of the Eclipse of Thales, in 585 B.C. The date was given by the ancient chronographers, and was the only total eclipse of the sun near that day which could have been predicted by cycle. The Eclipse of Stesichorus, 557 B.C., had been recently identified by Schoch. This eclipse seemed to show that Stesichorus was alive and at Himera in 557 B.C. The Eclipse of Sardis, 480 B.C., was inconsistent with astronomical evidence. An eloquent description was given by Pindar of a partial eclipse in 463 B.C. Thucydides' account of the eclipse of 431 B.C. was strikingly confirmed by the observations of the eclipse of A.D. 1921, April 8th. The eclipse was, presumably, observed at Athens. The Eclipse of Nicias, in 413 B.C., was noteworthy for its effect in producing the destruction of the Athenian expedition to Sicily. The computation of the Eclipse of Agathocles, in 310 B.C., showed that Agathocles probably sailed to the north of Sicily. The story of the Eclipse of Pydna, in 168 B.C., was largely embroidered, and must not be used for the reconstruction of the Roman calendar. The Eclipse of Plutarch, in A.D. 71, was important for the extent to which it was discussed in Plutarch's *De Facie*. There seemed to be a reference to the corona, a phenomenon on which ancient writers were curiously silent.

Proceeding to discuss the Astronomical Use of Eclipses, Dr. Fotheringham remarked that from Nabonassar (747 B.C.) onwards the Babylonians made a continuous dated record of astronomical observations, including all eclipses. From these they were able to determine the numerical constants of the motion of sun and moon. As early as 567 B.C. a tablet containing the regular series of astronomical observations mentioned the fact that a predicted solar eclipse was not visible. The eclipse was by modern computation real, but not visible at Babylon. There is no doubt, therefore, that the eighteen-year cycle of eclipses was in use at Babylon in 567 B.C., and Thales doubtless learned the art of prediction from the Babylonians. Recent researches, especially those of Prof. Schnabel, had thrown much light on the determination of the constants of lunar and solar motion by the Babylonians. Geminus referred to the constants derived from the eclipse period. A recently discovered fragment of Hipparchus informed us that Callippus (330 B.C.) derived his constants of the motion of sun and moon from a comparison of his own observations with those of the Chaldaean. It would be noted that he did not refer to older Greek observations, which in all probability were neither sufficiently numerous nor dated with sufficient precision to be of use to him. These eclipse records were probably the basis of exact astronomy to a far larger degree than was imagined till the last few years.

Observations were made by Dr. Cary and others, and the proceedings terminated with an expression from the chair of the Society's appreciation of Dr. Fotheringham's paper.

The Joint Library and Slide Collections.

To illustrate the work of the past Session, figures are given showing the activities of the Library during (a) a pre-war Session, (b) the last Session but one, and (c) the Session just concluded.

	(a)	(b)	(c)
	1912-13	1924-25	1926-27
Books added to the Library	489	320	479
Books borrowed.....	938	2,490	2,961
Slides added to the Collections.....	363	479	259
Slides borrowed.....	3,578	9,959	12,216
Slides sold.....	506	1,805	2,221
Photographs sold.....	345	183	355

The rise in the number of books borrowed shows that the new Library is becoming increasingly useful. But this very success has made it necessary to reinforce one Library regulation. So long as a book is not in demand for another member, it has not been necessary (nor is it now) to press for the return of books punctually at the end of the statutory month to which Members are entitled to retain them. But the inconvenience caused by the non-return of books after they

- (a) Have been out over the statutory month and
- (b) Are wanted by other members and
- (c) Have been definitely recalled,

is now so widely felt (owing to the increased use of the library) that the Councils have no other course than to exact the weekly payment of a shilling for the period during which the books are retained after application has been made for their return.

The Library has received the welcome addition of a collection of some 40 volumes of specimens of the early printing of the classics, the generous gift of Mr. H. Collingham. These include at least three *Editiones principes*:—Vettori's text of Aeschylus printed by H. Stephanus at Paris in 1557; the Diodorus Siculus edited by V. Obsopoeus and printed by J. Oporinus at Basle in 1539; and the Dianysius edited and printed by R. Stephanus at Paris in 1546.

Among other acquisitions of interest are the following:—The British Museum *Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Cameos*, by Mr. H. B. Walters; the *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, by members of the British School at Rome; Brünnow and von Domaszewski, *Die provincia Arabia*; the new edition of *Germania Romana* (a fine atlas of plates of Romano-German antiquities: a corresponding volume on *Britannia Romana* would remove a reproach); the late F. W. Hasluck's *Letters on Religion and Folklore*; E. Jacoby, *Fragments der griechischen Historiker*; the continuation of Mattingly and Sydenham's *Roman Imperial Coinage*; four volumes of Pitt Rivers's *Excavations*; the continuation of Mackenna's translation of Plotinus; Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* and the first two volumes of the same author's *History of the Ancient World*; and Rumpf's *Chalkidische Vasen*.

The Councils wish to express their sincere thanks for gifts of books to the following:—

Authors: Dr. A. Andréades, Dr. F. H. Babinger, Prof. J. D. Beazley, Dr. Ernesto Bignami, Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Dr. Ev. Breccia, Mr. Parker Brewis, Mr. J. P. Christopher, Mr. E. Clements, Prof. J. P. Droop, Dr. A. G. Francis, Mr. E. H. Freshfield, Monsieur Serge Gâbélev, His Excellency Dr. J. Gennadius, Signorina Irene Giglioli, Dr. D. G. Hogarth, Miss C. K. Jenkins, Dr. P. Th. Justesen, Mr. Roland G. Kent, Dr. L. Laurand, Signor B. Lavagnini, Dr. Sven Lönborg, Prof. Dr. Emanuele Loewy, Dr. A. Mahr, Monsieur C. Maltézos, Monsieur V. Martin, Mr. B. J. Merritt, Signor A. Neppi Modona, Dr. Martin P. Nilsson, Dr. V. Pârvan, Mr. A. A.

Laporte Payne, Dr. H. Philippart, Dr. Pilch, Dr. F. Poland, Dr. F. Poulsen, Dr. Th. Reinach, Dr. A. E. Remonchamps, Dr. D. M. Robinson, Dr. J. D. Rolleston, Dr. Smialek, Dr. I. A. Stella, Prof. Dr. F. Stadnicka, Messrs. H. S. and C. Toms, Dr. A. van Buren, Monsieur M. P. Vlasto, Dr. F. J. M. Waele, Sir Charles Walston, and Mr. A. B. West.

Donors of Miscellaneous Works: Miss Alford, Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Mr. Charles Brodribb, Mr. W. H. Buckler, His Excellency D. Cachamianos, Mr. W. R. Collinson, Dr. A. G. Curle, His Excellency Dr. J. Gennadius, Mrs. F. W. Hasluck, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. H. Last, Mr. A. W. Lawrence, Mr. William Miller, Dr. F. Oswald, Mr. A. E. Palmer, Mr. John Panoyro, Mr. Bruce Richmond, Mr. Leon Sohn, Miss Virtue-Tebbe, and Mr. G. M. Young.

The Presses of the following Universities: Bonn, Cambridge, Colorado, Columbia (New York), Graz, Heidelberg, Johns Hopkins, Leipzig, Oxford, Pennsylvania, Les Presses Universitaires de France, Princeton, Toronto, and Yale.

The following Institutions and Associations: The American Academy in Rome, The Anglo-Hellenic League, the Archaeological Survey of India, l'Association Guillaume Budé, la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), the Trustees of the British Museum, the Budapest Museum, the Colchester Museum, the Excavation Committee of Caerhan (Kanovium), le Comité d'édition 'l'histoire de Chios,' the North of England Excavation Committee, il Comitato permanente per l'Etruria, the Cracow Archaeological Institute, l'Institut archéologique Bulgare, the Italian Touring Club of Milan, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, le Musée du Louvre, the Ny Carlsberg fondets Direktion, the Roumanian School in Rome, le Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, the Society of Antiquaries, la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie, the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, the Linguistic Society of America, and the Medici Society.

The following publishing houses: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, G. Allen and Unwin, Almqvist and Wiksells, Edward Arnold, L'Artisan du Livre, Joseph Baer, Gabriel Beauchesne, C. H. Beck, G. Bell and Sons, Les Belles Lettres, B. Blackwell, Fratelli Bocca, E. de Boccard, H. Bors Söhne, F. Bruckmann, C. C. Buchner, Catholic Education Press, Edouard Champion, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Claito and Windus, Chorley and Pickersgill, Karl Curtius, J. M. Dent, H. Dieterich, Drei Masken Verlag, Paul Gauthier, J. de Gigord, W. de Gruyter and Co., G. G. Harrap, J. C. Hindrich, Holder and Stoughton, Andr. Fred. Host, John Lane, Longmans, Green & Co., Macmillan and Co., Maria-Martenthal, Maxwellton Company, Felix Meiner, Methuen, Humphrey Milford, J. C. B. Mohr, John Murray, R. Oldenbourg, H. J. Paris, Regan-Paul, Justus Perthes, Édouard Pfeiffer, La Renaissance du Livre, G. Routledge and Sons, Hans Schoetz, Rudolf Schwartz, Spink and Son, Heinrich Staadt, Gebrüder Stiefel, B. G. Teubner, Vandenhoock und Ruprecht, G. Vanoest, A. M. and E. Weber, Weidmann, and Carl Winter.

In the Photographic Department perhaps the most remarkable figure in the Library statistics is that of the 12,216 slides lent during the Session. It shows at once the growing popularity of these aids to teaching and the skilled and accurate work of Mr. Wise in meeting the needs of so many lecturers without a hitch. The sale of slides has also surpassed any previous figure.

The Propaganda Committee have been for some time at work on the preparation of a pamphlet on the use of pictures as aids to classical teaching in schools. To meet the present demand, as a small instalment of this, a selection of photographic enlargements from the Society's negatives suitable for class-room decoration is now on view at 50, Bedford Square, with a catalogue. These pictures are in adjustable frames which have been so designed that other photographs may be quickly and easily substituted. The collection of negatives from which these have been chosen is a very large one. The present series deals with Greek Sculpture and Architecture, but the choice, in these and other fields, is practically unlimited. The

photographs in the present series cost three guineas the set. The frames cost an additional four guineas, or without glass (which can easily be supplied locally) an additional three guineas. It is strongly recommended that they should be ordered without glass, as the packing and carriage of 18 glazed pictures would raise the price to the purchaser out of all proportion.

Recent donors to the photographic collections include the following: Miss Banuatyne, Mr. R. C. Bezanquet, Prof. H. E. Butler, Dr. Cary, Mr. A. Caspercz, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. G. H. Hallam, Miss C. A. Hutton, Prof. H. Stuart Jones, Flying Officer T. Lloyd Williams, Miss D. Lowe, Miss Janet Lowe, Mr. R. Meiggs, Dr. and Mrs. J. Grafton Milne, Miss Norris, Prof. H. J. Rose, Miss Rutherford, Mr. Arthur Smith, Mr. M. S. Thompson, Prof. Ure, Mr. H. B. Walters, and the late Sir Charles Walston.

The Library and indeed the whole Society continue to owe much to the Association of Friends of the Library. Mrs. Colley has again maintained the Catalogues; Mrs. Barge has given unfailing and greatly appreciated help in the issue of books and slides; Mrs. Brook is cataloguing the collection of prints and drawings. Other valued helpers have been Miss Ainslie, Miss Geare, and Miss Nash.

Many Members would be surprised to learn how many of the facilities which they enjoy are really due to the patient help contributed by the Friends of the Library. Probably there are others resident in London who would be willing to lend a hand if they realised how welcome they would be. There will be room and need for additional Friends in the autumn. The chief requisites are a clear handwriting and a good temper.

Finance.

The Roll of Members at the moment comprises 1,350 Members, 100 Student Associates, and 320 subscribing Libraries. The number of Student Associates is gratifying: so also is the fact that, almost without exception, they become full Members at the expiration of their Student Associateship. The list contains many names of high promise in scholarship and archaeology: Student Associates, however, should be more regular in their payments.

Although the Income and Expenditure Account for the year shows a deficit of £186, the Council regard the financial statements as very encouraging. During the year the question of the Society's liability in respect of rates has been settled, and in future we shall have to pay an annual charge of about £120. This year we have had to pay a sum of £130 in respect of arrears, and but for this, Income and Expenditure would nearly have balanced.

It will be noticed that the balance on the Journal account is considerably heavier than last year. This is partly owing to larger outlay and partly to a reduction in the receipts for volumes sold. The sale of back volumes was exceptionally large in the preceding year.

On the other hand, receipts from subscriptions from Members, Students, and Libraries show an increase over last year of over £100. The Council appreciate the efforts of those Members who have taken successful trouble to make the work of the Society known.

The total expenditure in connection with the new premises at 50, Bedford Square has amounted to £5,262, which may be thus divided: Lease, £2,300; spent on the house other than the Library, £1,000; Library, £1,962. The donations received in answer to the request for funds for the new Library amount to £1,962, so that, as already announced, the Library itself may be considered paid for.

But there remains a balance to be recovered on the whole undertaking of £3,300. One-twenty-fourth of this remaining debt has been carried to the Income and Expenditure Account, leaving £3,163 carried forward. Writing off a similar pro-

portion yearly will compass the extinction of the original outlay by the time the present lease expires.

We are now receiving the full annual rental of £650 from our tenants, and it has also to be reported that the Roman Society has kindly promised to increase their annual payments from £100 to £150. It would therefore appear probable that the current year's receipts will equal expenditure, which, having in view the improvement in the Society's quarters and the increase in all its activities, is a matter for great satisfaction. If the efforts made to secure new Members continue to be as fruitful as has recently been the case, financial difficulties will be much lessened if they do not disappear altogether in the near future.

It need hardly be said that further contributions towards wiping off the debt of £3,000 will be much welcomed by the Treasurer. Any sums received for this fund will not only reduce the proportion of the balance to be charged in the annual accounts, but also reduce the amount the Society has to pay the bank for interest on its overdraft.

The President then moved the adoption of the foregoing report in the following terms:—

Our losses (he said) during the past year have been many and grievous. I propose to dwell on them in my address, and for the moment I pass on to questions of business.

We have now had another year in which to settle in, in our new home at Bedford Square. Opinion is unanimous as to our gains in amenity, dignity and efficiency. That this is appreciated is shown by our statistics in all Departments.

As to the number of readers, figures cannot be given, but there is no doubt as to there being a marked increase. The books borrowed were 2,961, an advance of 18 per cent. on the last uninterrupted year at Bloomsbury Square, and of 53 per cent. on the immediately preceding broken year. The slides borrowed increased 11 per cent., and reached the formidable total of 12,216.

It is no small gain also that meetings of the Council, and committees of the Society and its allied bodies, can now take place without displacing or interrupting either readers or borrowers.

The new financial position can now be seen more clearly than in last year's accounts, which were those of the transition period.

On the expenditure side we know pretty well how we stand in relation to the rates. This question is one that has caused much anxiety during the past year. The accounts show an expenditure of £255, of which £130 was arrears for a part of the previous year. It is hoped that the future annual charge will be about £120.

In order to reach this result we had a long discussion with the local authorities, which culminated in a summons to Bow Street Police Court, to show cause why we did not pay what was asked. We were ably represented by counsel at the hearing, and after an adjournment, the magistrate gave a considered judgment in favour of our contention that the two occupancies of the house 50 Bedford Square, namely, the Society on the ground below, and the London Association of Accountants on the upper floor, were subjects for separate assessment. That being established, it readily followed that only the upper part, occupied by the Association, is liable for rates. The Society is also assessed, but that is a formality, since it enjoys exemption as a learned body under the Scientific Societies Act of 1843. You will remember that as a step towards that happy result you approved a year ago of the insertion in our Rules of a provision that we do not distribute any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money to our members.

The finance of our new house depended largely on this question of rateability, and it is a great satisfaction that it has been settled in our favour.

It is further a cause for congratulation that the Borough of Holborn, in which we are resident, is one that does its best to keep down the rates rather than to swell them.

Our rent for a complete year is £400, and we pay £120 rates on behalf of our tenants. We receive £670 in rent from the London Association, and from the two schools. As at present arranged, £140 is written annually off the price of the lease, with the intention of a corresponding reduction of the debt. We have therefore an expenditure of rent £400, rates £120, overdraft £140, interest on overdraft £70, making a total of £730, against receipts of £670. The amounts do not quite balance, but it was hardly to be hoped that they should, and the discrepancy of £60 need not cause undue anxiety.

The question whether a gradually diminishing overdraft is the most convenient and economical arrangement over a longish term of years, and the question of accountancy, whether in future these matters should be brought together in a special account, are still under consideration.

The cost of heating, lighting and cleaning (which includes the wages of the caretakers) is materially increased from £81 for the last complete year at Bloomsbury Square to £127.

On the Income side of the Account, the total receipts on the Membership side, that is, from Members, Associates and Subscribing Libraries, has increased by £100, and this is the backbone of our finances. The sales of old volumes is naturally a fluctuating source of income and is £122 less than the previous year.

The Roman Society's contribution appears as £100. In future it will be £150. That Society is now in the enjoyment of vigorous health and strength, and recently invited us to discuss the proper figure for its contribution. Delegates from the two Societies met, and made an entirely friendly but searching examination, and reached the result that an additional contribution of fifty odd pounds would satisfy ideal justice in the meantime, and should be reviewed after three years. I am glad to say that the Roman Society has accordingly resolved to raise its contribution from £100 to £150 per annum.

I must call your attention also to the satisfactory balance of £64 from the Sales and Hire of Slides and Photographs. This is the best figure of our record, and this branch, which for many years showed either a small deficiency or a small surplus, is now, under the fostering care of Messrs. Penoyre and Wise, become a useful aid to our finance, as well as the important propagandist instrument which it has always been. In this connexion I must invite those who are interested to visit the little picture gallery or showroom which has just been established in a little room in our basement, adjoining the Periodical Room. You will find there a choice collection of framed photographic enlargements, picked out as suitable for classrooms, and other like places.

Perhaps I ought to warn you that this growth of the Society's work puts an increasing strain upon its staff, until a point is reached at which reinforcement becomes inevitable. In the view of the Council that point is not far off, and they have just taken the preliminary step of appointing a Committee to look into the question.

On the whole, though there are both lights and shades in the landscape, I think that the statement in the Council's report, that they regard the financial statement as encouraging, is fully justified. I will, however, call attention to the last paragraph under Finance. For the time being we do not propose to harass Members with further individual appeals. But the Treasurer is still happy to receive any further help that may be offered towards reducing our capital burden.

I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

The motion was seconded by Mr. A. Caspersz, put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The President then gave his annual address.

Our losses during the year have been exceptionally heavy amongst our Members of longest standing. The veteran among them is Sir SIDNEY COLVIN, not only one of our original Members, but also one of the original band of Vice-Presidents.

His work in Greek archaeology dates from those early years. A scholar, Third Classic in the Classical Tripos, 1867, and a Fellow of Trinity, the duties of the Slade Professorship at Cambridge turned his mind to classical art. He visited Greece, and lectured at Cambridge on the discoveries at Olympia; took an active part with Robert Barn in organising the Archaeological section of the reformed Classical Tripos, and followed up this movement with the consequent provision of a cast Museum and archaeological Library.

His archaeological papers, of which the most important deal with Centaurs in vase painting, and the Amazon sarcophagus of Corneto, are in the first five volumes of our *Journal*.

When he moved from Cambridge to London, his productive energy was turned to other fields. But he kept his interest in classical archaeology, though he did not attempt to follow its newer developments. He acted for some time on the Illustration Committee of the *Journal*, and for several years he was the representative of the Society on the Committee of the British School at Athens.

WAULFA LEAF attained an eminent position in the spheres of Banking, Electricity Supply, and International Trade.

In the more limited fields of this Society he was known to us as one who had taken part in all branches of its work. Though not an 'original member,' he appears in our first list. He subsequently served as Editor, Vice-President, President, and Trustee. I think that the last time he took part in our affairs was when he assisted as Trustee in the discussions which led to our move to Bedford Square. When the move was complete, he supplemented his pecuniary contribution by the valuable gift to our library of his Homeric collection.

He had been bracketed First Classic in 1874, and Fellow of Trinity, but was disposed to give up Classics for Economics. It stands, in fact, recorded in our *Journal* (Vol. xl), and our Treasurer recently reminded us of the circumstance in a letter to *The Times*, that it was an invitation to complete a School edition of Homer for the house of Macmillan, left unfinished by the death of J. H. Pratt of Harrow, which brought him back to Homer. Thenceforward Scholarship and Business, though as diverse in their nature as the horses of Achilles, were yoked together to his chariot.

During his Presidential term he proposed to the Society a plan for an edition of Strabo on Asia Minor. He led the way with his own volume on the Troad, but the war interrupted any further work on the scheme. Whether it can be hopefully renewed, in a more quiet time, is a question that must be answered by the younger generation.

SIR CHARLES WALSTON, whom we knew for more than thirty years as Charles Wahlstein, was a familiar figure in this room until the other day.

For my own part, I like to think of him as I first knew him, in 1881, when he had been brought to Cambridge by Henry Sidgwick, and begun work as the first academic teacher of classical archaeology. He came to Cambridge, with what was at that time an exceptional acquaintance with the archaeologists, museums, and languages of Central Europe, and with the validity of his methods brilliantly confirmed by his identification of an unlabelled and unrecognised head in the Louvre as a head of a Parthenon Lapith.

It was with pleasure and sympathy that I read a tribute from my near contemporary, the Provost of Eton, to the stimulating power of his teaching in those distant days.

His first papers in Volumes I and II of our *Journal* dealt with Pythagoras of

Rhagium; the early athlete statues and the Choesul-Gouffier Apollo. To that subject and that period of Greek sculpture he remained faithful. The report which is in your hands contains his own summary of the communication that he made to us in February last. In this he maintained, as forty-four years previously, that the Choesul-Gouffier 'Apollo' was in reality an athlete, and perhaps the Euthymos of Pythagoras. It is interesting, however, to note that Amelung, in the recently issued *Führbuch* of the German Institute, has adduced a hitherto unknown replica from a Naples Villa, which he regards as decisive for the Apollo attribution.

To the world at large Walston was best known by his almost single-handed attempt to organise an international excavation of Herculaneum. The Italian papers did not fail to take note of the curious circumstance that he should have died at Naples within a few weeks of the excavation campaign, which the Italian authorities declared in 1906 that they would undertake immediately—and which stood over, notwithstanding, for the more energetic administrative regime of to-day. It would be unprofitable to go again into the old controversy. But no one, I think, can read the story, as told with documents in the *Herculaneum* of Waldstein and Shoolbridge, without feeling that he was hardly treated by the Italian Government. They had practically pledged themselves to his scheme, when everything was overthrown by an impulsive article of Boni's, in the *Tribuna*—'Il patrio Suolo.'

No doubt the idea of a co-operative voluntary subscription to perform a big piece of work was less familiar to the Italian mind than to us. We certainly should not regard it as a national degradation if a corresponding case should arise. On the other hand, the world has had much experience of international committees in recent years, and is perhaps more alive than it was twenty years ago to the difficulties attending international co-operation.

SIR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY was the fourth Vice-President whose loss is recorded to-day. His name also occurs in our first list of Members, though not as an original Member. He had a brilliant career at Dublin and at Cambridge, and was known to us all as a most original, vigorous and combative writer on many subjects, including the Early Age of Greece, Minos the Destroyer, the oldest Irish Epic, and the Differentiation of the Chief Species of Zebras. It was a constant wonder to his friends that he should have specialised in coins, gems and the like, under difficulties of vision which seemed to make such pursuits impossible.

I feel little qualified to assess the work of Prof. JOHN B. BUZY, who died the other day at Rome. Early in his career he published editions of the Nemean and Isthmian Odes of Pindar. He was probably best known as a historian of the later Empire, and editor of Gibbon, but in truth he covered a much wider field, and with an exceptional knowledge of the outlying languages of European culture. He was a member of the Council in 1904-6. It is characteristic of his width of study that his contributions to the *Journal* include an elaborate discussion of the end of the *Odyssey*; an investigation of the accounts of the Nika riot, in the reign of Justinian; and of Mutasim's march through Cappadocia in A.D. 838.

Our list includes the names of four distinguished scholars in pure scholarship.

Prof. Postgate, whose death was due to a lamentable bicycle accident, was famous as a philologist, and editor of the new edition of the *Corpus* of Latin Poets.

Prof. Cruickshank was an able schoolmaster, and Professor of Greek at Durham.

Prof. W. C. Flamstead Walters had also served on the Council. In the later years he was engaged with Prof. Conway on an edition of Livy.

Prof. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, one of our foreign Honorary Members, died at the great age of ninety-five, and was, I imagine, the foremost as well as the oldest of American scholars, distinguished both in Latin and Greek. It is seventy years since he was appointed to his first professorship in the University of Virginia.

We also record with regret the loss of—

Mr. Sidney Barnsley, who sought to apply to modern furniture the principles

of simplicity and beauty that he had learnt as an architectural student at Athens.

Mr. Edward Bell, who as a publisher and as a student worked for classical study.

Miss Gertrude Bell, who started on Eastern life as a student of architecture, and acquired unequalled influence, for a woman, in the political settlement of the Near East.

Mrs. Burton Brown, a schoolmistress and student of Rome.

Mr. Somers Clarke was a distinguished architect, interested in Egyptian rather than Greek architecture.

Miss I. Farquhar.

The Rev. H. Fleming.

Mr. Ambrose Petrocchino.

Mr. H. Wagner.

Mr. A. B. Walkley, an ex-Civil Servant of the Secretary's Department of the Post Office, an accomplished dramatic critic, and a sprightly writer.

It is usual on this occasion to offer something in the nature of a survey of what is being done in the field of Hellenic study. I will begin with a mention of certain works that lie outside the usual lines of publishers' activity.

Two years ago, at this meeting, I spoke of the inception of the great scheme, proposed by M. Edmond Pottier to the Union Académique Internationale for an international Corpus of Vases. At that date eight parts were complete.

Thanks mainly to the wise method adopted, of leaving to each country a wide discretion as to methods of treatment within the general framework of the scheme, rapid progress has been made. Fourteen parts have now made their appearance: France 5, Belgium 1, Denmark 2, Italy 2, America 1, and Great Britain 3. The British parts are two of the British Museum and one of the Ashmolean Collection, by Prof. Beazley. This part, issued in the last few days, was produced with the aid of a grant from the British Academy. There is good reason to hope that it will be followed, in due course, by a corresponding part, similarly assisted, for the Fitzwilliam Museum Collection.

It is computed that at this moment 6,731 vases or parts of vases have been given photographic publication under the scheme. Should nothing further appear, a great piece of work would have been accomplished, but everything points to an increasing impetus as the scheme proceeds, and it becomes necessary to the prestige of a collection to belong to it.

That most useful periodical, the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, now entering on its third volume, has been uttering a cry of distress on the wrapper of the part lately issued. The publisher had intimated that the number of subscribers was too small, and must be largely increased for the publication to continue. This was not effected, and the sentence was modified to a rise of price, if 150 additional subscribers had not been obtained by the 1st of this month. I do not know what happened, but evidently the continuance of the publication is precarious. I would urge that the book is within everyone's range, and indispensable for classical libraries. No doubt, Mr. Tod of Oriel College would be happy to receive the names of new subscribers.

In consequence of the high specialisation of modern organs of advanced study, the criticism of the text of the New Testament has, I think, never been represented in our *Journal*. It is obvious, however, that that is a subject to which we cannot be indifferent, either corporately, or individually. You will have therefore seen with interest the proposals that have lately been launched by a Committee under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Gloucester.

It is now fifty-five years since Tischendorf's Greek Testament was completed, with its unrivalled conspectus of the MSS. readings. Since that date Westcott and Hort produced their famous text, but it was the result of their studies, and did not attempt to supply the evidence on which their text was based. In 1910 Prof.

Souter edited a critical text for the Oxford Press, but it gives, and only claims to give, a brief and selected apparatus of readings. In 1913 von Soden's text was published, but according to the experience of those who tried to use it (I have not seen it), it is impossible.

Meanwhile progress has been continuous with discoveries in the sands of Egypt, in the study of extant minuscule MSS., in knowledge of the early versions, and with the citations in the Fathers. All this material must be combined in a new Tischendorf. The basic text (with the liberal assent of the representatives of those scholars) will be that of Westcott and Hort. The burden of printing and publication has been assumed by the Oxford Press—with the cordial concurrence of America and Germany. But the cost of editorial preparation will be considerable, and an appeal is now published for £1,000 a year for five years.

That the printed form in which Greek is put before the reader should be as good as possible is a primary consideration in the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. I must therefore call your attention to the work of Mr. and Mrs. Scholderer, acting in consultation with a Committee of Members of the Council. They have together produced an alphabet whose beauty is, I think, undeniable. Opportunity of comparing it with the work of the older type founders has been afforded by the exhibition of Greek printing in the King's Library. I have heard with pleasure that a permanent record of the exhibition will shortly be available.

I do not think that anyone able to read ordinary Greek type would find difficulty in mastering the new alphabet with goodwill and a few minutes' study. The further question, how soon the type would present itself to the reader in such a way that he could read it without thinking about it, is not so easy to answer, and could, I should think, only be decided by the experience of many readers.

I should like to submit, for the consideration of those responsible for our *Journal*, that they should obtain the loan of the fount when they have to print some consecutive Greek (in which a difference of body would not cause inconvenience), and so put it before our members in the *Journal* in actual use. Mr. Scholderer tells me that the fount has also been cut in 18-point—that is, half as large again as the 12-point type previously shown, and that there is a prospect that we shall be able to study it in selected texts.

I turn now to some parts of the excavation field.

At Sparta the British School at Athens has been conducting a further campaign, and we shall, no doubt, learn the details in due course.

At Constantinople the British Academy, a new arrival in the excavation field, has been excavating the Hippodrome under the direction of Mr. Casson. Here also we must await the full report. It is announced (*The Times*, June 10) that the present situation of the Serpent Column is not of any great antiquity. Its present base is an inverted Byzantine capital, with a substructure of no great antiquity, resting on a late water conduit. Any expectation, therefore, that may have been formed that a complete excavation might confirm or refute the restoration of the original monument at Delphi, put forward forty years ago by Fabricius, is disappointed.

In Crete, under the auspices of the School at Athens and Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Forsdyke has been clearing a group of early tombs, cut in the rock, 600 feet up on the steep facing the palace.

Such rumours as I had heard suggested that Mr. Forsdyke, who was digging with a find privately collected by himself, had had rather a lean time. It was therefore with special pleasure that I read Sir Arthur Evans's announcement (*The Times*, June 8), that in a corner of a newly-explored tomb, in the lowest stratum, Mr. Forsdyke has made a find of jewellery of the first importance.

Though somewhat outside the strict Hellenic fields, yet intimately connected with it, in view of its supposed bearing on the history of the alphabet, is what may perhaps be called the drama of Glozel. This has excited much notice in France, and is beginning to attract attention in England.

Glozel is a small village in Central France, about twenty miles S.E. of Vichy. Here (I quote M. Salomon Reinach's article in the *Antiquaries' Journal*), "above the wooded bank of the Vareille, at the foot of the hill, extends a little plateau which was thickly wooded till thirty years ago, when the trees and bushes were cut down. In 1924 the Fradin family, owners of the land, decided to sow there some vegetables, and young Émile Fradin, then a boy of eighteen, began to dig up the soil. Soon he discovered a brick bearing some regularly distributed cup-marks which aroused his curiosity (he is intelligent, though completely devoid of learning)." The schoolmistress was interested; local rumour got busy. The local Antiquarian Society refused to interest itself to the extent of fifty francs in what it regarded as a depot of coarse Roman pottery. But a Vichy doctor, M. Morlet, examined the site, recognised that it was not Roman, leased the plot of land for nine years, and began to dig. Numerous objects said to belong unmistakably to the later Stone Age were found in a stratum of yellow clay, beginning a foot below the surface. Most remarkable of the finds was a series of tablets inscribed with alphabetic signs.

They inevitably suggested a clumsy forgery, and an active controversy has been in progress for the last fifteen months. The *Mercure de France* has been the chief organ dealing with the question, and each fortnightly number has a *Chronique de Glozel*, reporting new events, and giving the substance of anything of interest that has appeared elsewhere.

Broadly speaking, those who have seen the work in progress on the site are believers. These include MM. Salomon Reinach, Van Gennep, Espérandieu, and others. Prof. Deperet, Professor of Geology at Lyons, M. Loth and others are on this side. Also the Portuguese antiquary Vasconcellos has testified that the tablets are the same as some found in neolithic surroundings at Trax-os-Montes in Portugal.

The sceptics are those who have not visited the site. I gather that M. Seymour de Ricci is the only opponent who has done so. The most prominent among them is M. Camille Jullian, the historian of Gaul, whose position is somewhat complex. The inscribed tablets are partly genuine and partly forgeries. When they are genuine they are low Latin incantations from a witch's board of the Empire. The neolithic objects found with them were brought as votive offerings, being objects of reverence, by those who consulted the witch. M. Jullian was challenged to translate on this hypothesis, and has responded.

Here is his reading of a tablet accessible to English students (*Antiquaries' Journal*, vii. p. 4, fig. 4)

Si felix lem eta(n) voxes kœc (dicat) : Felix lem, taxabatas, dona hœ, Ilitua, ho(e).

Lem is said to be Gaulish for a deer, an animal revered by the Gauls, and the tablet therefore contains a formula for a prayer to Ilithyia when *Lem* is auspicious.

In another tablet, regarded as spurious, M. Jullian detects the word *Clavel* or *Clavel*.

I do not presume to offer a judgment on a question which divides French Archaeologists in two. I can only invite your attention to the controversy which at present finds expression once a fortnight in the pages of the *Mercure*.

The speaker then showed photographs of a bronze vase lately acquired by the Metropolitan Museum at New York. The incised inscription *εἰς ἡμέρας Ἀφροδίτης* seemed to be a confirmation of his restoration of the punctured inscription on the Elgin *lebes* (*ἡμέρας* 'Aφροδίτης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀφροδίτης (J.H.S. xlv. p. 256). Perhaps *εἰς* should be prefixed to the reading of the Elgin bronze.

In conclusion, a few notes on observations made during a recent visit to Italy and Sicily were illustrated with lantern slides.

After expressions of appreciation of the President's address the meeting closed.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1926, TO DECEMBER 31, 1926.

Expenditure.		Income.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Rent		By Members' Subscriptions—	
“ Rates (1925 and 1926)	403 5 0	Arrears	26 5 0
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“ Librarian	312 0 0	Arrears	9 9 0
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“ Miscellaneous Expenses	64 14 11½	“ Dividends on Investments	42 0 0
“ Stationery	48 2 3	“ Contributed towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room	137 9 9
“ Sundry: Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.	91 6 8	“ Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies	20 0 0
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“ Grants—	74 14 0	“ Sale of Aristophanes, Codex Venetus, 1888 cost of binding	1 0 0
“ British School at Athens	100 0 0	“ Miscellaneous Receipts	3 6 0
“ “ Rome	10 10 0	“ Balance from Lantern Slides and Photographs Account	23 15 0
“ Balance from Library Account	110 10 0	“ Balance	64 13 4
“ Balance from “ Journal of Hellenic Studies” Account	163 2 9	1926	186 17 9½
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	6 0		

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Burrowes, Major P.	1	1	0	Richardson, L. J. D.	5	0	
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Hobling, Miss M. B.	1	0	0	Amount previously acknow- ledged	43	15	0
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Low, Miss Janet I., and donation	5	0	0		43	15	0
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Metcalf, Sir Charles, Bt.	3	0	0	Total amount received to date	2198	6	7
Nairn, Rev. Dr. J. A.	3	0	0				

SUPPLEMENT NO. IV.
TO THE
SUBJECT CATALOGUE* OF THE JOINT LIBRARY
APPARATUS, ETC.

Periodicals

- L'Acropole**, revue du monde hellénique. From vol. 1 (1926).
10 × 6½ in. Paris. *In Progress*.
- Archæologia Cambrensis**. Supplementary volume for 1927. Men-
via Sacra. By E. Yardley. Edited by F. Green.
8½ × 5½ in. pp. vii + 428. 1927.
- Archiv für Papyrusforschung**. Beiheft II. Untersuchungen zur
Chronologie der ersten Ptolemäer auf Grund der Papyri.
By E. Meyer.
10 × 6½ in. pp. viii + 90. Leipzig and Berlin. 1925.
- Budapest**. *Archæologiai Értesítő*. From vol. 29 (1908).
11½ × 7½ in. Budapest. *In Progress*.
- *Archæologia Hungarica*. 1 Az Avarkori Múpar Magyarországon.
By E. Nandor. 12½ × 9½ in. Budapest. *In Progress*.
- Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology**.
9½ × 6½ in. pp. 15. Toronto. 1926.
- Byzantinisches Archiv**. 6. Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von
Kaisareia. By A. Glas.
9½ × 6½ in. pp. 90. Leipzig. 1914.
- 7. Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Eukomion auf den Hl. Theo-
dorus Tiron. By A. Sigalas.
9½ × 6½ in. pp. 102. Leipzig. 1921.
- 9. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung
besonders des 10 und 11 Jahrhunderts. By F. Dölger.
10 × 6½ in. pp. 160. Leipzig. 1927.
- Diplomatarium Italicum**, documenti raccolti negli archivi italiani.
From vol. 1 (1925). Published by the Roumanian School
at Rome. 11½ × 7½ in. Rome. *In Progress*.
- Klio**. Supplementary Publications. 19. (N.S. 6). Monumentum
Antiochenum. By W. M. Ramsay and A. von Premerstein.
9½ × 6½ in. pp. x + 121. Leipzig. 1927.
- Litteris**. An international critical review of the humanities. From
vol. 1. 1924. 9½ × 6½ in. Lund, etc. *In Progress*.

* The Catalogue (published 1924) is sold to members at the reduced price of 7s. 6d. (by post 8s. 6d.)

This and other supplements are sold at 6d. each.

Address: The Assistant Librarian, Hellenic and Roman Societies, 50 Bedford Square, W.C. 1.

Litteris. Supp. vol. to 1924 part iii. Årsbok: 1924. Year-book of the new Society of Letters at Lund.

$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 359. Lund, Heidelberg, Paris, London. 1924.

Revue Biblique. From vol. 36 (1927).

$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Paris. *In Progress.*

Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Proceedings. From vol. 61 (1925).

$9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Taunton. *In Progress.*

Sussex Archaeological Collections, relating to the history and antiquities of the county. From vol. 67 (1926).

$9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cambridge. *In Progress.*

Warburg. Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge. From 1921-22.

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. Leipzig. *In Progress.*

Collected Essays

Dieterich (A.) Kleine Schriften.

$9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xlii + 546. Leipzig and Berlin. 1911.

Macgregor (M.) Leaves of Hellas.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. vii + 300. 1926.

In Honorem works

Gébélev (S. A.) Recueil Gébélev: exposé sommaire [short summary in French of Studies dedicated to S. A. Gébélev].

$8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 12. Leningrad. 1926.

Heikel (I. A.) Commentationes philologicae in honorem professoris emeriti I. A. Heikel. Ediderunt discipuli.

$10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. vii + 163. Helsingfors. 1926.

Swoboda (H.) *Ἐπιτάφιος* Heinrich Swoboda dargebracht.

$10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xiv + 385. Reichenberg. 1927.

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Gennadius Library. The opening exercises of the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 14. Athens. 1926.

Graz. Die feierliche Inauguration des Rektors der Grazer Universität, 1926-7.

$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 35. Graz. 1926.

Ny Carlsberg. Ny Carlsberg fondet og dets virksomhed 1902-27.

$11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ in. pp. 78. Copenhagen. 1927.

Biographies, etc.

Gennadius (G.) *Ἰωάννου Γενναδίου λόγος πνευματικός . . . εἰς μνήμην . . . Γεωργίου τοῦ Γενναδίου.*

$9 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 39. Paris. 1926.

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 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xxv + 496 (av. per vol.). Leipsic.
- Bucolici.** Bucoliques Grecs. II. Psemo-Théocrite, Moschos, Bion, divers. Ed. and translated into French by E. Legrand.
 [Association Guillaume Budé.]
 $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xi + 235 *leaves* + 46. Paris. 1927.
- Musaei, Moschi et Bionis quae extant omnia, quibus accessere quaedam selectiora Theocriti Eidyllia. Ed. D. Whitford.
 8×6 in. pp. vi + 143. 1655.
- Robinson (D. M.) The Greek Bucolic Triad (Theocritus, Bion and Moschus). [Reprinted from "The Greek Idylls," by M. M. Miller.] $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 22. Lexington, Ky.
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 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. pp. 420 (av. per vol.). Berlin. 1926.
- Testament, The Greek.** Edited by H. Alford. 5 vols.
 $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. x + 560 (av. per vol.). 1861 to 1877.

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- Aeneas.** Πολυοργιστικά. Ed. L. W. Hunter. Revised, with some additions, by S. A. Handford.
 $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. lxxxiv + 265. Oxford. 1927.
- Aeschines.** Discours. I. Contre Timarque—Sur l'ambassade infidèle. Edited and translated into French by V. Martin and G. de Budé. [Association Guillaume Budé.]
 $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xxxi + 169 *leaves*. Paris. 1927.
- Aeschylus.** Αἰσχύλου τραγωδίαi Z. Ed. Petrus Victorinus (Vettori). Printed by H. Stephanus.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. viii + 395. [Paris.] 1537.
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- Ed. J. Scholefield.
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- Aphthonius.** Progymnasmata. Ed. H. Rabe.
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c3432 " view in corridor of palace.
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c3340 " bird's-eye view.
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c3504 " ruined mosque with columns from façade of temple enclosure.
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c3406 Gerasa (Jerash), the Basilica and church.
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c2301 Palmyra (Wood, *Palmyra*, pl. 35).
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c3598 " threshing scene.
c3539 Trebizond district : Kromai.
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 c3417 Temple of Nike Apteros, looking W. after sunset.
 c3611 Parthenon, view in Colonnade.
 c3612 " N.E. angle.
 c3418 Erechtheion from the W.
 c3615 Theatre, orchestra and stage.
 c3617 " Reliefs built into Roman skene. (Cf. *Papers of American School*, 1, p. 137.)
 c3620 Asklepieion, looking E.
 c3437 The Odeion of Herodes Atticus, from without (drawing).

Attica, etc.

- c3397 **Aegina**: baths in house by propylaea of temple.
 c3621 Eleusis, pediment and architrave reconstructed.
 c3622 " altar with Eleusinian torches: other architectural fragments.
 c3596 **Hymettus** from the garden of the British School at Athens.
 c3438 **Parnes**, olive trees.

Peloponnese.

- c3439 **Asine**, map of the site.
 c3440 " the lower city from the Acropolis showing the excavations.
 c3626 " Tower on E. side of Acropolis, commanding gateway.
 c3627 " N.W. wall.
 c3628 **Epidaurus**, theatre, reconstruction of arcade.
 c3629 " great Colonnade.
 c3633 " panel of roof of the tholos.
 c3395 **Olympia**: valley of Alphaion.
 c3399 " view in Altis from near entrance.
 c3400 " basis bearing the inscription ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ.

Sparta.

(Excavations of British School at Athens, 1926.)

- c2702 Theatre, general view of stage looking E.
 c2703 " front of stage looking W.
 c2705 " bastion of E. outer stairs, inscribed base in foreground.
 c2706 " E. outer stairs, foot of.
 c2754 Byzantine church on Acropolis, N. stylobate of nave.

- B9431 Tivoli, the old and new falls.
 B4347 Tusculum, vestiges of the forum seen from the Arx.
 C3632 Venice, bronze horses, on the façade of St. Mark's.
 B9403 Voltur, Mt. in Apulia.
 B4348 Zolforata (Alban Hills).

Sicily.

- C3656 Agrigentum, temple of Zeus: interior order, showing the Atlantes ranged along the cella wall (Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities*, Supp. volume, pl. 6).
 C3476 Agrigentum, temple of Zeus: cross section showing the Atlantes forming part of the order of the nave.
 B4287 Catania, view looking seaward.
 B4284 Eryx: the summit.
 B4277 Etna from Catania.
 C2513 " from the sea.
 B4286 Palermo and Monte Pellegrino.
 C3441 Segesta, the temple: external view from end.
 B4278 Syracuse from Epipoli.
 B4282 " papyrus plant in the R. Anapus.

Roman Empire.

- B4301 Leptis Magna, general view showing baths.
 B4302 " " view in the baths.
 B4284 Pola (near). Villa on the island of Brioni grande. The main building restored (Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of R. Empire*, pl. xxxii, 2).
 B4312 Spoleto: monumental lion.

- B4311 Arles, the amphitheatre: upper tiers showing the vaulting sustaining the seats and steps.
 B4313 Monte Carlo, The 'Torre della Turbia.'
 B4314 " " " " " restored.

- B4333 Tarragona, the aqueduct.
 B4338 " arch of Bará.

- C3498 Minorca, prehistoric remains, a talayot.
 C3499 " " " a typical nous.
 C3500 " " " a taula.

- B4315 Bath, remains of the circular Roman bath.
 B4263 Chadworth: the villa restored (Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of R. Empire*, pl. xxxi, 1).
 B4303 Makendon Camps (Cheviot Hills), Camp D and part of C, from the air.
 B4304 " " the four camps from the air.
 B4291 Roman Wall, Crag Lough.
 B4292 " " " "
 B4293 " " " "
 B4294 " " " " and Hot Bank.
 B4295 " " Housesteads Milecastle.
 B4296 " " Vindolana from Barcombe.
 B4297 " " Whinshields, *Iron Age*.
 B4298 " " Willowford, Roman bridge.
 B4299 " " " " "
 B4300 " " " " " sluice.
 B4324 " " Mithraic altar found at Rudebaster (*History of Northumberland*, vol. xii, plate facing p. 20).
 B4305 Woodchester, mosaic pavement uncovered, 1926.

Architectural Details.

- C3442 Corinthian capital discovered on the site of the old Royal Stables, Athens.

- c3443 Le Puy, capital in the cloister of the cathedral.
 c3444 Clermont-Ferrand: capital in Notre-Dame du Port: the Virtues and Vices.
 c3445 Pomposa: pierced stone rose window in the narthex of the abbey.
 c3446 Alleged Byzantine slab found in Mongolia.

Prehellenic.

- c3453 Babylonian bull from Sirkarab, B.M.
 c3452 Steatite bison: Sumerian art (Louvre Mus.).
 c3455 Hittite relief: rampant lion, Ras-el-Ain.
 c3456 " " an ostrich, Ras-el-Ain.
 c3459 Limestone relief: chariot scene, ca. 3,500 B.C., Ur.
 c3451 Male head: Sumerian art (Louvre Mus.).
 c3458 Mycenaean painted terracotta head from Asine.
 c3420 Ivory knife handle from Egypt.
 c3447 Late Cycladic vase fragment with floral decoration.
 c3448 Hittite vase of metallic form showing Aegean influence.
 c3482 Gold cup from Asine: four Octopus in relief.

Gold objects from Mycenae

(the numbers refer to Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Edn., 1878).

- c3636 Goblet with dog's head handles, No. 328.
 c3637 Cups, including Nos. 339, 342.
 c3638 " Nos. 343, 477.
 c3639 Various vessels, Nos. 319, 317, 341, 322, 318, 320.
 c3640 Selection of chased discs.
 c3641 Chased buttons and brooches (cf. Nos. 482, 486).
 c3642 Shrine (No. 423), goddess (No. 268), flying gryphon (No. 272), female figure (No. 273) and other objects.
 c3643 Plaques (Nos. 479, 471, 472), ring devices (Nos. 345, 530, 334) and other objects.
 c3410 The ring of Nestor: the design rendered in the technique of a Minoan fresco (*J.H.S.* xlv, pl. v.).
 3242 Perforated steatite disc decorated on both sides (Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 158, pl. 49).
 3343 Four-sided jasper bead-seal (Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 158, pl. 30).
 c3454 Inscribed Babylonian tablet with cylinder seal impressions.
 c3459 Glazed antiquities, pebble with incised reindeer.
 c3460 " " so-called death's-head vase.
 c3461 " " inscribed clay tablet.
 c3667 " " " " " (*Antiquary's Journal*, vii, p. 4, fig. 4).

Inscriptions.

Relating to the buildings on the Acropolis.

- c3381 First decree relating to the Temple of Nike Apteros (*I.G.*, I, 24, from *Eph. Arch.*, 1897, pl. II, upper half).
 c3377 Second decree referring to the Temple of Nike Apteros (*I.G.*, I, 88, from *A.J.A.*, 1923, p. 315).
 c3382 Last decree referring to Temple of Nike Apteros (*I.G.*, I, 25, from *Eph. Arch.*, 1897, pl. II, lower half).
 c3378 Parthenon Building Inscription: diagram showing relation of the pieces preserved (*A.J.A.*, 1921, p. 237).
 c3379 Erechtheum Commission Report: the Chandler stele, diagram of the fragments (*A.J.A.*, 1913, p. 245).
 c3337 Erechtheum Commission Report: (G.I. in B.M., No. 33).
 c3380 Erechtheum accounts. Maseus' wages shown in tabular form (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, p. 327).

Sculpture.

- c3449 Amasis II: black basalt portrait head.
 c3663 Glazed enamel relief: a lion, Babylon.

- c3209 Stele of Demys and Kotylos, Ath. Nat. Mus. (*Ath. Mitt.*, iii. pl. 14).
 c3421 The Mesophracos, as discovered on the Acropolis at Athens.
 c3479 E. Pediment of Aegina: Herakles.
 c3422 Grave relief by Alxenor (*Ath. Nat. Mus.*, No. 39).
 c3491 Attic grave relief, 5th cent.: youth with javelin.
 c3493 Relief of a discobolus with youthful figure added. Delphi.
 c3492 Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, profile view, B.M.
 c3213 Early Apollo types: the Choiseul-Gouffier, Strangford, Boeotian and Tenos figures (*J.H.S.*, 44, p. 331, fig. 3).
 c3212 Heads of centaurs from Parthenon metopes (*J.H.S.*, 44, p. 239, fig. 12).
 c2914 Parthenon, W. pediment: Iones of Poseidon.
 c3464 Parthenon frieze, head of a boy, S. frieze slab xi, No. 28.
 c3465 " " " " " " slab xii, No. 33.
 c3466 " " " " " " slab v, No. 13.
 c3467 " outstretched arm, S. frieze slab, xxv No. 63.
 c3211 Fifth-century profiles (*J.H.S.*, 44, p. 237, fig. 11).
 c3497 Archaistic head of Zeus found in Appian Way, 1927.
 c3468 Head, resembling the Hermes term after Alkamenes, discovered at Pergamon. Berlin Mus.
 c3480 Myronian discobolus. Mus. Naz. Rome.
 c3481 " " " " " back view.
 c3490 Amazon: Leconfield Coll., No. 18.
 c3495 " head of Leconfield Coll., No. 18.
 c3463 " head of, back view: showing treatment of hair in marble copy of a bronze. Conservatori Mus. (*B.S.A.*, xxiv, p. 81, fig. 2).
 c3494 Athlete pouring oil: Leconfield Coll., No. 5.
 c3469 Head of Hermes by Praxiteles, Olympia.
 c3470 Female head, Praxitelean in style. Stockholm (*B.S.A.*, xxiv, pl. 5).
 c3471 Eirene and Ploutos group after Kephisodotos. Head of Eirene (*B.S.A.*, xxiv, pl. v).
 c3485 Female torso, Nereid type. Burlington House (front view).
 c3486 " " " " " (side view).
 c3487 " " " " " (back view).
 c3488 Nereid from Nereid monument. B.M. (front view).
 c3489 " " " " " (side view).
 c3490 " " " " " (back view).
 c3410 Sea deity (?). Ath. Nat. Mus. (*Ath. Mitt.*, 17, pl. 4).
 c3214 Mausoleion: the B.M. restoration, 1927.
 c3645 Alexander sarcophagus: battle scene, L. hand end.
 c3644 " " " " " R. hand end.
 c3647 " " " " " L. half.
 c3646 " " " " " R. half.
 c3429 Attic grave relief: lady moving to r. with lekythos: high relief. Ceramicus.
 c3427 Draped female figure found on site of royal stables, Athens.
 c3429 Funerary statue: seated lady. Ceramicus. Athens.
 c3409 Asklepios (?) head (Reinach, *Rec. de têtes ant.*, pl. 196). Drawing.
 c3472 Dionysos: marble head from Peiraeus (*B.S.A.*, xxiv, pl. v).
 c3407 Gerasa head: profile view to R.
 c3408 " " " with details of alleged retouching.
 c3477 Greco-Buddhist art(?) Female statuette. Tacôla.
 c3478 " " " Bearded male winged figure. Cleveland Mus.
 B4282 Relief from the column of Igel: landing barge along a river (Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of R. Empire*, pl. xxx, fig. 5).
 B4266 Relief on sarcophagus found at Sidon: Sidonian merchant ship (Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of R. Empire*, pl. xxxviii, 2).

- B4342 Grave monument of the Longidienus family, Ravenna.
 B4321 Relief, Cloth merchant's shop. Uffizi Museum, No. 431.
 B4322 " " " " " " " " No. 480.
 B4336 Mithraic altar, Dieburg.
 B4337 " " " Phaethon pleading for the chariot of the Sun.
 B4323 Relief at Corostopitum | Hercules.

- B4331 Antoninus Pius. Leconfield Coll., No. 77.
 B4316 Augustus: bronze head from Marce, full face.
 B4317 " " " " " " profile to R.
 B4329 Aurelius, Marcus, youthful portrait. Leconfield Coll., No. 35.
 B4330 Faustina the older. Leconfield Coll., No. 60.
 B4318 Livia. Head in the Hermitage Mus. (*J.H.S.*, xiii, pl. xv b).
 B4329 Saloniua. Leconfield Coll., No. 51.

- B4332 Idealised portrait statue of a Roman matron (found in Appian Way, 1927).
 B4325 Male republican portrait. Leconfield Coll., No. 75.
 B4327 Unidentified prince of the Antonine age. Leconfield Coll., No. 42.
 B4328 Boy with cap. Leconfield Coll., No. 43.

- C3462 Archaic bronze statuette: girl spinning. Berlin Antiquarium Museum.
 C3424 Bronze ephebus from Pompeii.
 C3425 " " " " " " bay of Marathon: front view to R.
 C3426 " " " " " " back view to L.
 C3473 Decorative bronze head: a river god.

- C3374 Tanagra Egurim: lady (Loeb, *Terracottas*, i, pl. 45).
 C3375 " " " (Loeb, *Terracottas*, i, pl. 47).
 C3376 " " " (Loeb, *Terracottas*, i, pl. 53).

- C3474 Scent-bottle in form of a lion. Syracuse.

Vases.

- C3475 Corinthian Oenochos.* Syracuse.
 C2016 D.F. Vase: hoeing, ploughing, etc. †
 C3210 Part of Pentathlen scene: cylix by Duris. † B.M. (*J.H.S.*, 26, pl. 12 (part).)
 C3338 R.F. Vase: Diogenes, Maenads and Silenus † (*Mon. Piot*, 1900, pl. 2).

Painting.

- C3450 Egypt. Phoenician ships in Egyptian harbour (Köster, *das antike Seewesen*).
 C3648 Mariessa: elephant and rhinoceros (Cook, *Necropolis of Mariessa*, pl. x).
 C3649 " Hippopotamuses and crocodile (*id.*, pl. 12).
 C3650 " wild ass (*id.*, pl. 13).
 C3651 " porcupine (*id.*, pl. 14).
 C3652 " man-headed lion and lynx (*id.*, pl. 15).
 B4358 Pompeii. Central portion of Campanian Villa (Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of R. Empire*, pl. iii, 1).
 B4359 Pompeii: a Campanian Villa (Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of R. Empire*, pl. iii, 2).
 278 " mural decoration.
 B4272 Rome: Hypogeum near Porta Maggiore (*Not. Scav.*, 1920, pl. 4). Mythological scene (possibly = *Od.* xix, 53).
 B4273 Rome: Hypogeum near Porta Maggiore (*Not. Scav.*, 1922, pl. 2). Tomb of Gena Octavia: Hermes Psychagogos and souls (perhaps children).
 B4319 Rome: Initiation of a Mithraic Neophyte. Mithraeum of S. Maria, Capua Vetere (*Not. Scav.*, 1924, p. 363, fig. 13).

Mosaic.

- B4361 Ostia, from baths near Porta Romana.
 B4363 " from colonnade behind theatre: the traders of Karalis (Cagliari).
 B4364 " " " " " " " " Syllaetum.

- B4367 Ostia, from baths near Porta Romana.
 B4369 " found beneath road: the winds and the trading provinces of the Empire.
 B4370 " from Imperial chapel in the barracks of the Vigiles.
 B4390 " from baths on the Decumanus.
 B4391 " " " " " the large mosaic.
 B4267 Zliten, Threshing floor (Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of R. Empire*, pl. xiv. 1).

Miscellaneous.

- C3654 Bronze Lebes (the Elgin lebes). B.M. (*J.H.S.* 46, pl. 14).
 C3655 " " lip showing inscription. (*ib.* p. 257).
 C3457 Object, supposed to be associated with Adonis worship, found at so-called garden tomb site, Jerusalem.
 C3484 'Cup of Constantine' with early representation of Christ. B.M. Drawing.
 C3483 Walthamstow: the Greek theatre.
 B4306 Aes grave (cf. Haeblerlin, *Aes grave*, pl. 57).

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(No really archaic works have been included.)

1. Head of a boy in the National Museum at Athens. *Circa* 480 B.C. 12 x 9 in.
2. Apollo in the centre of the E. gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. *Circa* 460 B.C. 15 x 12 in.
3. Head of a bronze charioteer at Delphi. Not later than 460 B.C. 12 x 9 in.

Sculpture of the Mid-fifth Century.

4. Slab of the frieze of the Parthenon: Poseidon, Apollo and Demeter (or Artemis). Acropolis Museum, Athens. *Circa* 440 B.C. 15 x 12 in.
5. Bronze statue of a boy athlete at Florence. (The so-called *Itolius*.) *Circa* 440 B.C. 15 x 12 in.
6. The 'Thesus' of the Parthenon. British Museum. *Circa* 440 B.C. 15 x 12 in.

Architecture.

These six architectural subjects are designed to be hung in a group between the sculptures which precede and follow.

7. Ionic Architecture: The temple at Aezani in Phrygia. Hellenistic age. This, one of the finest specimens of Ionic architecture, is very little known. 15 x 12 in.
8. Pendant to above. Ionic capital from Eleusis. 8 x 8 in.
9. Doric architecture: The Parthenon. *Circa* 440 B.C. 24 x 18 in.
10. Pendant to above. A fallen capital of the Parthenon. 8 x 8 in.
11. 'Corinthian' architecture. The Olympieion at Athens. 15 x 12 in.
12. Pendant to above. A fallen capital of the Olympieion. 8 x 8 in.

Fourth-Century Sculpture.

13. Upper part of the figure of a charioteer. Relief from the inner smaller frieze of the tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus. British Museum. *Circa* 350 B.C. 15 x 12 in.
14. Tombstone of Hegesias in the Ceramicus at Athens. *Circa* 400 B.C. 15 x 12 in.
15. Relief from Mantinea: Three of the Muses. National Museum at Athens. *Circa* 350 B.C. 15 x 12 in.

Hellenistic Sculpture.

16. Head of a bronze statue of Hermes from Cythera. Athens, National Museum. Probably Hellenistic age. 12 x 9 in.
17. Winged Victory from Samothrace. Louvre Museum. *Circa* 300 B.C. 15 x 12 in.
18. Giant from the frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon. Berlin Museum. *Circa* 175 B.C. 12 x 9 in.

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October 1927.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, *v*, *ai*, *oi*, *ou*, by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-as* and *-os* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-os* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ei*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in *-eas* must be represented by *-eas*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *a* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Præne*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-pos*, as *Alcyon*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-on* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protagenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A. E. M.* = Archæologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archæologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archæologische Zeitung.
Alt. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bollettino dell' Istituto.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum.
Ep. 'Apx. = Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Gölitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Ausgewählte Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Græcæ.¹
I.G.A. = Böhl, Inscriptiones Græcæ antiquissimæ.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archæologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archæologischen Instituts.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second name of the *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions*, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

<i>I.G.</i>	I =	Inscr. Atticæ anno Egeidis votiviores.
"	II =	" " ætatis quæ est inter Eueh. ann. et Augusti tempora.
"	III =	" " ætatis Romanæ.
"	IV =	" Argolidicæ.
"	VII =	" Megaridicæ et Boeotiacæ.
"	IX =	" Græciæ Septentrionalis.
"	XII =	" insul. Maris Aegæi præter Delos.
"	XIV =	" Italicæ et Siciliacæ.

Num. Chr. = Numismatische Chronik.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauy-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Zsm. Mitt. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexikon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, i.e. a lacuna filled by conjecture.
- { } Curved brackets to indicate alterations, i.e. (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
- < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, i.e. to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ḥ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

- () Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.





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